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HISTORY OF PIEDMONT.

BY

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VOLUME I.

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LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

PREFACE.

PIEDMONT is a State of God's own making. The barrier which Providence reared up for the defence of Italy stands yet unconquered after the enslavement of the whole Peninsula. The Alps, which failed to make one State of the land they encompassed, gave at least rise to a border State, which may perhaps yet work out the deliverance of the country.

It is the purpose of the present Work to study the causes which led to the formation of the State of Piedmont and gave it stability; to bring the whole Past to bear on the whole Present; to inquire how far the long-continued success and advancement of that country has been owing to the mere advantages of geographical position, and to what extent it may also be ascribed to the peculiar genius of its Princes, and the rare temper of its People.

Out of the various mongrel communities made up rather by fortuitous aggregation of territory than from development of national elements, in the eleventh century,—at the time, that is, when the European families

has become one with Italy: it has a sacred, a fearful pledge to redeem.

Italy cannot fail to take the field once more; and no blindness of partisanship, no local jealousy can hinder Piedmont from again being—what it was called by way of contempt in the days of Charles Albert—"the Sword of Italy."

The day of strife may yet be distant, and it were idle to dwell upon that. But there is another—a moral contest—waging at this moment. Every day in which Piedmont reconciles freedom with order, in which it proves the capability of the Italian people for self-government; it wins a battle for itself, for Italy, for humanity. This rehabilitation of at least a part of the Italian nation, is a preliminary step towards the emancipation of the whole country. The independence of Italy is half accomplished, when it is established by facts that she is not unworthy of it. It conveys too flat a contradiction to the ungenerous assertions of those who would doom a nation to eternal death on the ground of previous abuse of life. The contrast we have long witnessed between western and eastern or southern Italy,—between the peaceful debate on laws at Turin, and the sanguinary state of siege at Milan, is edifying to all Europe. Thus, it may now be said, do the Italians govern themselves; thus are they governed by foreigners!

It is important to look this great fact in the face; to refer to the causes which led to it, and the means which achieved it.

The History of Piedmont receives a fresh importance from the new attitude assumed by that State in Italy and in Europe. Up to a very recent period Piedmont had no real existence,—men talked only of the State or monarchy of Savoy. The annals of the country were merely those of a mountain-chief and his clan, or rather of a general and his regiment. But the People was nevertheless slowly forming,—developing tendencies, aspirations, forces of its own. Only for a long course of time the prince and the people were so strongly identified, that men used to speak of the former as an abstraction, and the latter was scarcely noticed. But all sublunary things proceed by action and reaction. If it was the sovereign here who made the nation, the nation by turns exercised its influence on the sovereign.

It is not with the destinies of the House of Savoy that we are concerned. It is the edifice which those princes reared that interests us; and that edifice will endure, even were the builders to fall. Whatever requital the descendants of Charles Albert may meet with at the hands of Italy, there is no doubt but the predecessors of that King will be found to have well deserved of the country.

The History of Piedmont is therefore distinct from, though inseparably connected with, that of the House of Savoy.

There is enough that is intrinsically beautiful and heart-stirring in the annals of the reigning House itself. For a lineal succession of forty sovereign princes in

twenty-seven generations—Counts, Dukes, and Kings —during the lapse of eight centuries and a half, that House has stood its ground. There must have been something more than chance thus to chain the wheel of fortune in favour of a dynasty: and the historians of Savoy find an adequate reason in the fact, that "no royal family has produced so long and uninterrupted a series of brave, able men;" or we might say, with more modesty but greater certainty, none has been so remarkable for the absence of bad, idiotic, or craven men, and of profligate women,—in none have the instances of startling crimes or hideous vices been more unfrequent; several of those princes may claim the reputation of distinguished warriors and legislators at home, and two of them at least played a most conspicuous part, and exercised a paramount influence on general events abroad.

But, as we said, it is not the rulers, but the people of Piedmont that interest us. We distinguish the work from the artificers: it is with the materials those princes had to work upon, that we busy ourselves. All that is merely dynastic belongs but indirectly to our subject.

The History of Piedmont is from this very fact divided into two separate epochs. For a whole lapse of five centuries Savoy was a stranger in Italy. The princely mantle of the House was made up at first chiefly of Burgundian and Helvetian patches; it spread over the fine districts bordering on the Rhone and Lake Leman. For a time it even seemed as if the scheme

of keeping together what nature had eternally sundered, struck its very originators as something too daring and monstrous; it seemed as if the hope of subjugating both the northern and southern valleys was abandoned, and for the best part of two centuries the reigning House was split into two branches,—of Savoy, and Piedmont or Achaia,—and the two States held together only by flimsy ties of feudal compact.

During the whole of this period Piedmont was Italy. Its half-feudal, half-municipal organization, or disorganization, had not much to distinguish it from any other district of Lombardy. It was a prey to the long struggles which brought about the ruin of Italy; and from those struggles the House of Savoy either prudently kept aloof, or, even more craftily, only engaged in them when it saw they presented safe chances of its own aggrandisement.

But when the result of these contests was to lay Italy prostrate, and to make it an easy prey to foreign aggressors, then the Princes of Savoy came in for their own share of the spoils. That share they seized with all the tenacity of men of the hills: they fastened upon it, impressed it with their own character, made it morally as well as materially their own.

From 1002 to 1559, history tells us the conquest; from 1559 to 1796, the union and nationalization, of Piedmont. The last sixty or seventy years give us the result of all the previous work, the standing up of a complete edifice.

The History of Savoy, as considered apart from

that of Piedmont, has been repeatedly, and not unskilfully, written. Guichenon, a gentleman of Bresse, who flourished in the seventeenth century, illustrated the genealogy of the reigning House with an industry and judgment, that made his work a supreme authority with the numerous writers who came after him. The most able of these, the Marquis Costa de Beauregard, produced, in 1816, three volumes, in which he attempted to give his subject as much order and comprehensiveness as it would admit of. Still all these were merely "Histories of the House:" they were written by Savoyards and with Savoyard views; and Costa, at the utmost, kept as it were astride the Alps; he was not aware, nor was any man before the reign of Charles Albert, that the House of Savoy had almost unconsciously estranged itself from the home of its ancestors, and committed itself to an Italian career.

On the other hand, Piedmont, as an Italian province, has been long neglected by national writers. Only two or three chronicles of Asti and Chieri found place in the vast treasures of historical erudition collected by Muratori. Turin, Ivrea, Saluzzo, etc. could hardly be said to belong to the sisterhood of Italian cities: up to the close of the last century, notwithstanding the crude essays of Pingon, of Ludovico and Agostino della Chiesa, and other obscure writers, the History of Piedmont remained to be written. Denina endeavoured indeed to supply the deficiency, in his work on the History of Western Italy. But he

went too far beyond the subject. The limits of the regions he thus designated are vague and shifting: that history was undertaken at a late period in life; it was ill digested and conducted throughout, and in Piedmont itself it is by no means so extensively known and read as the work on the 'Revolutions of Italy,' to which the author owes his reputation.

Yet the Piedmontese have at all times had some skill in history. There have at all times been men of great worth engaged in the illustration either of particular periods or of separate districts of the country. One of the most distinguished was Gian Tommaso Terraneo, whose comprehensive work 'on the Princess Adelaide of Susa' has been only partially published. Montferrat, Saluzzo, Nice, and the Maritime Alps have, although at different epochs, engaged the attention of very diligent historians; Benvenuto San Giorgio, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Delfino Muletti, toward the close of the eighteenth, and Pietro Gioffredo at the latter end of the seventeenth. The works of Grassi, Biorci, Partenio, Ghilini, Irico, and a hundred others on Asti, Acqui, Cuneo, Mondovì, etc., are compilations of unequal merit, merely illustrative of that somewhat mean Italian patriotism, which loves to concentrate itself upon the narrow sphere of the immediate homestead, which engages all the writer's faculties upon one favourite topic and does not look much beyond it. Hardly one of those works can stand a comparison with the analogous productions, on Parma by Affò, on Como by Rovalli,

etc., either for depth of erudition, or interest of narration.

More worthy of the name of scholars were, in Piedmont, Jacopo Durandi and Carlo Tenivelli, both of them flourishing toward the end of the last century, and contemporaries with Denina: the first has left us the result of his unwearied researches on 'Ancient and Mediæval Piedmont,' the latter wrote five volumes of 'Piedmontese Biography,' a work of high historical importance.

So much by mere private exertion: but lately, in the palmy days of Charles Albert, Piedmontese history advanced with gigantic strides. Royal libraries and archives were thrown open to the public; and the long-buried past stalked forth in all its grim majesty before the eager gaze of the living generation. An Historical Society or "Deputation" was inaugurated under the auspices of the same monarch, and a collection of 'Monuments of the Country's History' was begun, of which five folio volumes have already issued from the press. All is not yet published, nor has all been diligently searched, nor has all that was found been freely and fairly imparted; for there are yet at Turin, as in all old-fashioned society, timid men, who think that "toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire,"—still anxious to "spare the dead for the sake of the living."

On the strength of these new materials, one of the most indefatigable of those Piedmontese scholars, the Cavaliere Cibrario, undertook a new 'History of the

Monarchy of Savoy,' on a very large scale, and aiming, in a somewhat trenchant and positive tone, at the demolition of all that specious structure which tradition, in this and most other ancient communities, had reared up, admitting hardly any fact for which he finds no voucher in some old charter or deed, or in the accounts of some master of the Ducal household, out of which indeed he has derived very curious information. The performance is very minute and able, but it has unfortunately gone no further than the third volume, and carried the subject only to the latter end of the fourteenth century. The author, now a member of the Sardinian Cabinet, is engrossed by political cares; and the two volumes of fragments, chiefly on Amadeus VII. and VIII., published under the title of 'Historic Studies,' are sufficiently indicative of the utter abandonment, or at least indefinite adjournment, of the great task,—a task which will not soon be taken up by other hands.

But if the History of Piedmont is yet a desideratum, very interesting productions bearing on the subject have been accumulating under the laudable efforts of several members of the Historical Deputation, especially Balbo, Sclopis, Provana, two Promis, and Cibrario himself, some of whose essays have been published in the 'Atti dell' Accademia delle Scienze' of Turin. The 'History of the Princes of Savoy of the Branch of Achaia,' by Pietro Luigi Datta, is a thorough history of Piedmont for the period it embraces (1285–1418). We have a splendid essay on

'King Arduino and his Times,' by L. G. Provana; very able summaries on 'Piedmontese Legislation' and on the 'States General,' by Federico Sclopis; a 'Political Economy of the Middle Ages,' by Cibrario; with a variety of minor works on provincial and municipal annals, such as Chieri and Turin by Cibrario, Novara and other Lombard "Municipi" by Carlo Morbio; finally, endless illustrations of medals, seals, and coins, blue-books of the 'Public Treaties of the House of Savoy,' etc.

A semi-official work on the 'Chambre des Comptes,' or Exchequer of Savoy, was published by Capré, as early as 1662; and in 1798, by Galli, three volumes on the 'Cariche,' or State and Court offices of Piedmont from the very earliest times: both works calculated to throw the greatest light on the general history of the country.

The staff-officers of the Sardinian army have frequently employed their leisure in the production of good maps, and geographical and statistical works of no mean pretensions. To one of the veterans of the last generation, Count Alexandre de Saluces, we are indebted for a 'Military History of Piedmont' in six volumes: and the Government has lately brought out a 'Journal of the Siege of Turin' of 1706, by Count Solar de la Marguerite, the commander of the artillery of the place during that memorable event. The continental states of Sardinia have been illustrated by six beautiful maps, which will bear comparison with the best works in that style: but the officers

of the staff are now reproducing the same subject on a far larger scale, forming a collection of ninety-six maps, of which several are already printed.

Statistical and geographical works had already been undertaken in Savoy and Piedmont during the late French occupation: such as the 'Dictionnaire Historique, etc. des Départements du Mont-Blanc et du Leman,' by Grillet; 'Statistique de l'ancien Département de Montenotte,' by Chabrol, etc. The province of Saluzzo has more lately been illustrated with the same copiousness and minuteness by Eandi.

It is to be regretted that a very interesting publication descriptive of the Italian Alps, 'Le Alpi che cingono l'Italia,' by some of the staff-officers, should have gone no further than the first volume: but the 'Notizie Topografiche e Statistiche,' by Captain de Bartolomeis, an officer in the confidence of Charles Albert, and who has dedicated a long life to this compilation, is now complete, and quite encyclopedical for what concerns the Sardinian mainland. The 'Dizionario Storico' etc. by Casalis, a somewhat clumsier and more irregular work of the same character, has reached its twenty-third large volume. Genoa and the whole of Liguria, and the Island of Sardinia, have been made the theme of very good historical and descriptive works by Serra, Varese, Bertolotti, Manno, and La Marmora.

Finally, a whole volume of Litta's 'Famiglie Celebri d'Italia' is devoted to the dynasty of Savoy, and as a genealogical and biographical summary it leaves hardly anything to desire.

Whilst Piedmontese and other Italians were thus busy at home, they received unexpected and very valuable assistance from abroad.

A society of distinguished scholars at Geneva and Lausanne have been collecting 'Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Suisse Romande,' that is, French Switzerland, a country which was from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century one with Savoy. Those materials, of which nine or ten volumes have already appeared at Lausanne, whilst some have been printed in the 'Archiv für Schweitzerische Geschichte' of Zürich, have also been worked into shape by the collectors themselves, especially by Messrs. Gingins-la-Sarraz, Vulliemin, Grenus, etc., whose essays on 'The Second Kingdom of Burgundy,' on the 'Wars of Charles the Bold,' and on 'The Reformation in Geneva and Vaud,' on Chillon, etc., have won a well-deserved reputation.

Not a line in these very extensive productions is without importance to the student of Piedmontese history.

May, 1854.

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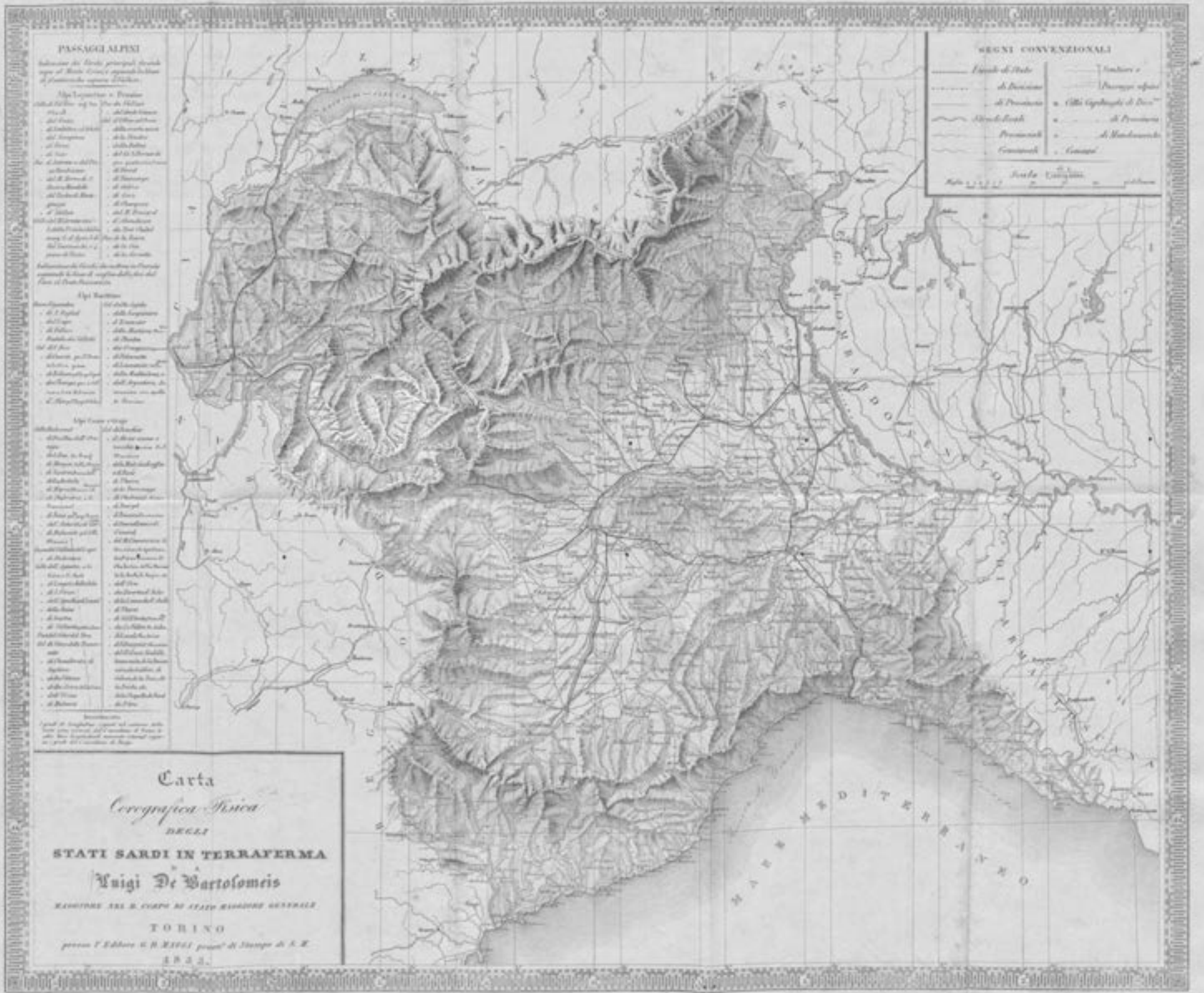
ERRATA.

Page 239, line 15, *for* "Convent of St. Justus," *read* "Convent of Yuste."
Page 255, line 22, *for* "Valley of the Pelice," *read* "Valley of the Chiusone."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di
Luigi De Bartolomeis
TORINO
1833.
MEDITERRANEO

HISTORY OF PIEDMONT.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY.

WHENEVER the King of Sardinia ascends the hill of Superga, to visit the vaults beneath which, since more than a century (1731), the relics of his fathers are laid, —standing on the dome of its lofty basilica, about fifteen hundred feet above the walls of Turin, and between four and five miles to the south-east of that city,—he can, at a single glance, survey no less than three-fourths of his continental domains.

All but Savoy, which lies west of the Alps, and the County of Nice and Duchy of Genoa, bordering on the Mediterranean on the southern slopes of the Maritime Alps and Apennines,—all the fairest and wealthiest, the most compact and interesting part of his territories lies stretched out like a map at his feet, in a vast circle, shut in on three sides, north,

west, and south, by one uninterrupted mountain-chain; whilst on the fourth, or eastern side, the view is lost in the vastness of the plain. All this extent of country forms the upper region of the great valley of the Po, the western division of Northern Italy.

Within a distance of thirty to fifty miles the crescent of the Alps and Apennines, from the cloud-like summit of Monte Rosa to the Pass of the Bocchetta above Genoa, rises clear and vivid, a mountain-range more than four hundred miles in length; so distinctly sometimes, in the ineffable purity of that Italian atmosphere, that the foremost bluffs and cliffs, here insensibly sloping, there towering loftily over the plain, with their castles, towns, convents, and sanctuaries perched on their crests, would almost seem to come within reach of the beholder's hand, although the nearest of them—the hill on which the royal castle of Rivoli stands—is little less than eight miles from the capital.

Toward the south-west the sapphire-hued pyramid of Monte Viso shoots up, a mountain unlike all others, —a conspicuous object here, no less than at the end of most streets in Turin, no less than from any other part of the country, familiar to the eye and heart of every Piedmontese, as to the Swiss or Tyrolese the spire of his native village church.

Taking the start from this first landmark, and glancing northward, the eye descries the long unbroken chain of Mont Genèvre, like a gigantic brown wall; and still further, the snowy summits of Mont

Cenis, with the high-road to France striking up the Valley of Susa, almost due west of the capital.

In that great gap of the Valley of Susa, where the receding mountains allow the view to penetrate into the very heart of the Alps, Nature seems to have thrown open the main portals of Italy; and there, in fact, at the entrance of the valley, where yonder wondrous structure, half fortress, half convent, called the "Sagra di San Michele," rears its Titanic walls on a thousand feet precipice, the Lombards established their "Chiuse," the frontier bulwarks against Frankish invasions.

From Monte Viso to Mont Cenis are the mountains that belong more immediately to the Piedmontese district, and which were called the Taurinian and Cottian Alps—the home-Alps of Turin. From Mont Cenis to Mont Iseran, to the Little St. Bernard and Mont Blanc, the chain assumed the name of Graian or Grecian Alps; rather vague denominations indeed, for the line of demarcation between those different divisions of the crest nowhere exists in nature, and has been loosely, arbitrarily and variously traced by ancient and modern geographers.

As the sublime region of Mont Blanc is approached, the Alps fall back, and turn majestically eastwards. The Sovereign Mountain itself is invisible from Superga, owing to the prodigious height of the ridges that branch out from the main chain; and behind those same stupendous ridges, the eternal and all but pathless peaks of Mont Velan, Mont Combin, and

Mont Cervin successively bound the view, till at last Monte Rosa is reached,—a thoroughly Italian mountain, standing out foremost in the chain,—the very cross in that Alpine diadem, visible to the whole of Piedmont and Lombardy. From Mont Blanc to Monte Rosa, the chain bears the name of the Pennine Alps.

From Monte Rosa, again, the great crest turns to the north-east, and is lost to view; it follows the same direction beyond the Simplon Pass, till it terminates at the Gothard, the central mass of what is called the chain of the Lepontian, or Adular Alps. Here are the limits of Piedmont on the north.

If we now go back to Monte Viso, and hence turn to the south-east, we have the Southern or Maritime Alps sweeping widely round, down to the Col di Tenda, which lies almost in the same meridian with Superga and Turin, and about as far south as Monte Rosa or Mont Cervin to the north of that city, making with it a straight line of perhaps more than a hundred miles —the main longitudinal diameter of this vast circle of Piedmont.

East of the Col di Tenda, at some point that has never been clearly defined, the Alpine chain insensibly merges into the Apennines; the smooth blue crest of the latter mountains beautifully contrasting with the brown and jagged appearance of the rocky masses above Tenda. The Apennines run at first north-east, along shore to Savona; thence they take an almost straight easterly direction up to the heights of Genoa, pressing close upon the sea on the southern side, but

on the north throwing out branches towards Acqui, Novi, Tortona, Bobbio, and Voghera, assuming more important altitudes on entering the territory of Piacenza and Parma.

Thus the whole mainland of Sardinia is divided into three parts by nature: the country within the mountains, or Piedmont Proper; the districts west of the Alps, or Savoy; and, south of the Alps and Apennines, the territories of Nice and Genoa,—the lands of Liguria.

Within the circle of Piedmont, down from all the summits, on either side, the waters flow toward a common centre, to blend their course in the main stream of the Po.

This springs from three fountains on the northern *versant* of Monte Viso, at a height of 6333 feet above the sea-level, about a middle altitude from the summit itself of the parent mountain, in a lonely spot, called "Il Piano del Re;" it dashes down to the plain between Revel and Saluzzo, descending more than 5200 feet in a course of about twenty-one miles; it is lost in the sands near Revel, and thence gushes forth again, winding east and north till it reaches the walls of Turin; below that city it takes an easterly direction, from which it does not very materially swerve, till it empties itself into the Adriatic, after a course of about three hundred and forty miles. From Saluzzo to the sea the descent is no more than 1100 feet.

The most important of its affluent streams, those that converge upon it from the whole mountain-circle

we have described, generally give their names to their valleys, and sometimes to the territories they traverse; and as they constitute the main features, so they trace the permanent limits of the country. The principal of these, beginning from the Alps on the eastern side, are the Ticino, Sesia, Dora Baltea, Orco, Stura, Dora Riparia, Clusone, Pelice, and the Po itself; and south of it, the Vraita, Maira, another Stura, and the Tanaro, the last of the Alpine streams; then, from the Apennines, the Bormida, Scrivia, Staffora; and, on the borders of Piacenza, the Tidone and Trebbia.

The Ticino has its sources in the glaciers of St. Gothard; it comes down from Airolo, at the foot of that great mountain-pass, traverses the Val Levantina, and bathes the main part of the Italian-Swiss Canton which bears its name; it crosses Lake Maggiore from Magadino to Sesto Calende, and from Canobbio, about two hours' sail from the waterhead, down to Sesto Calende: where the stream issues into the plain, the right bank of the lake, and again the river itself, form the present boundary between Piedmont and Austrian Lombardy. On the plain, the river leaves Novara at a distance of about eight miles from its right bank; it comes closer to the frontier town of Vigevano, and at length flows past the walls of Pavia on the opposite or Lombard side, and is lost in the Po, about five miles to the south-east of that city.

The Ticino has a course of about fifty-four miles before it reaches the Lake Maggiore; the length of the lake itself is thirty-nine miles, and the river runs for

the space of fifty-seven miles across the plain: altogether the watercourse extends to about one hundred and fifty miles.

A great branch of the Ticino,—the Tosa, Toce, or Toccia,—comes down the Val d'Ossola, collecting all the waters of several great valleys of that elevated region. The principal is the Val Formazza, and through this the Tosa falls, springing from the heights of the Grieshorn. It meets at the Bridge of Crevola the Simplon road, which comes down the narrow Val di Vedro, there enters the broad Val d' Ossola properly so called, and soon reaches the old capital of the district, Domo d' Ossola. The valley is here very wide, and the flat bottom on which the river runs riot is seldom less than a mile in breadth. Below Domo, past the opening of the Val Antrona and Val Anzasca, and beyond Vogogna and Ornavasso, the Tosa enters Lake Maggiore in the Gulf of Baveno, or Pallanza, in sight of the Borromean Isles, the vaunted paradise of Northern Italy. Near this very spot, at Gravellona, the waters of the Tosa mingle with those which a short outlet brings up from the south, from the Lake of Orta, —that lonely, lovely lake, with its sanctuary on the hill, with its hallowed isle of San Giulio, now so sweetly slumbering in its bosom, but the scene of great events in olden times, the capital of a Lombard duchy, and the stronghold of a heroine-queen, Gisla, the wife of Berengarius II., King of Italy, who there withstood all the might of the First Otho of Germany.

From the woody mountains that mirror themselves

on the calm waters of Orta, on the western and southern banks above Borgomanero, and from the lowest hills at the foot of Lake Maggiore, at Agrate, spring two minor streams, the Agogna and Terdoppio, both of which run past the walls of Novara and Mortara, —the former to the right, the latter to the left of these towns; and, below these, they roll lazily over the rice-grounds of the fat province of Lomellina,—those rice-grounds which here as well as in the lower lands of Vercelli and Novara, and throughout Lombardy, yield so much wealth at the expense of so awful an amount of human life.

But to go back to the real Alpine streams. Next to the Tosa, on the west, is the Sesia, a fine, pure stream, which has its head deep in the recesses of Monte Rosa, runs down the Val Sesia, a region of renowned beauty, passes the far-famed sanctuary of Varallo, with its forty-six chapels, the pride of Alpine artists; and, after contracting itself between Borgo Sesia and Serravalle, at Ponte San Quirico, the limit of Val Sesia proper, breaks forth into the plain between Gattinara and Romagnano; about one mile above Vercelli, it receives the Cervo and Elvo, the streams that come down from Biella and its famous sanctuaries of Oropa and Graglia; and, after a course of one hundred and seventeen miles, it enters the Po below Vercelli, at a great bend in the main river, about six miles below Casale, the old capital of Montferrat.

Further west, the Dora Baltea receives all the southern waters of Mont Blanc, in that beautiful basin which

bears the name of the Val d'Aosta, shut in not only between the two sides of the great angle formed here by the main chain, but also by long ridges, which, starting on the one side from Mont Cervin and Monte Rosa, and on the other from Mont Iseran, effectually cut off that sequestered region from the rest of Piedmont. The river bathes the Roman city of Aosta, at the meeting of the two roads of the Little and Great St. Bernard; hence, issuing from the valley below the Fort de Bard and Pont St. Martin, it flows on to Ivrea, where it reaches the plain, and runs at last into the Po at Crescentino, after a course of one hundred and twenty-nine miles.

At Pont St. Martin the Val d'Aosta is met by another valley, deep and narrow, called Val Gressoney and Vallesa, which runs down between the great ramifications of Mont Cervin and Monte Rosa. In several districts of this valley, as well as in some of the higher villages of Val Sesia and Val Anzasca, a German population resides, an upright, industrious people, since time immemorial unmixed with the natives of the country, true to their old German manners, and speaking an ancient Teutonic dialect.

South of the Val d'Aosta, separated by the huge ridge of the Col de Cogne, and taking its start from the mass of Mont Iseran, the river Orco comes down tumbling, raging madly from crag to crag, the most boisterous stream in the Alps. Its two valleys of Ceresole or Locana and of Soana meet at Pont; and hence the river runs through the Canavese, or pro-

vince of Ivrea, a populous and thriving but obscure district, none of the boroughs of which, such as Pont, Cuorgnè, Castellamonte, Agliè, Rivarolo, etc., can raise any pretensions to the dignity of towns. The Orco rushes out into the plain at Cuorgnè, and ends its course at Chivasso.

Next to this is the Stura di Lanzo, which is not to be confounded with another Stura south of the Po (the name occurs no less than four times in Piedmont). Three deep valleys unite near Lanzo, their waters joining in one stream, which here flows into the open plain, and after a course of about fifty-four miles enters the Po, about two miles east of Turin, opposite to the very foot of the hill of Superga.

But nearer to that city, and bathing its very walls on the same eastern side, a far more important river closes its course, the Minor Dora, or Dora Riparia. This has its origin in several distinct branches on Mont Genèvre; it passes at Cesanne the carriage-road of that mountain-pass; and from Oulx, Salabertrand, and Exilles it descends to Susa. Here it blends its waters with those of the Cenise, a brook coming down from the valley of Novalesa and the greatest of the Alpine roads, that of Mont Cenis. Below Susa the valley is open, and its lower grounds form a level seldom less than half a mile in breadth: it somewhat contracts itself at the old Lombard Chiuse, between two great mountains, the Pircheriano on the right and Civrari on the left (probably Swine Hill and Goat Hill), the gates of Italy, as we have seen, in the remotest middle

ages: hence, below the Sagra di San Michele, the river rolls widely into the plain, under the castle-crowned heights of Avigliana and Rivoli, bringing freshness and purity to Turin, the streets of which it is daily allowed to overflow.

The Dora Riparia has a course of ninety miles. Not far from the sources of this Dora, but separated from them by the Col di Sestrières, are those of the Clusone: its valley bears successively the name of Val di Pragelato, Fenestrelle, and Perosa; near the latter place the Clusone receives the waters of the Germanasca, which flows down the valley of San Martino; and below Pinerolo, the capital of that district, it joins the Pelice, which brings down the tribute of the Val di Lucerna, with that of the minor glens called the Val d'Angrogna and Val di Rorà.

Particular mention has been made of all these valleys, because to every spot, in all of them, the suffering of the Waldenses and their valour have attached a sad and glorious interest. Most of them are narrow and high, and so densely wooded that the sun can scarcely reach their depths. They are therefore a comparatively barren although verdant district; but the hill-sides are whole and firm, and the waters have a purity and clearness strangely contrasting with the muddy appearance of the Dora, the Po, and indeed of most Piedmontese streams, with the exception of those of Val Sesia. To what extent this limpid nature of the water may have contributed to keep the faith of these good people undefiled, as it undoubtedly freed

them from goître, cretinism, and other afflictions an Alpine population is heir to, might be a fit subject for learned inquiry.

From the Dora Baltea to the southward, it may be observed, the course of the rivers becomes shorter and shorter still, and the slope of the valleys more abrupt. The course of the Clusone, the longest of the Waldensian streams, does not exceed sixty miles; and from the French frontier on the summit of the Alps, as for instance at the Col de l'Abries, to La Torre or Lucerna, where the Pelice breaks forth into the plain, is only a four or five hours' walk.

Equally short, and far less renowned in history, are the valleys of the Vraita, Maira, and Grana, parallel to that of the Po, and which run into that river on its right bank, at no great distance from the spot where the Clusone and Pelice have also their confluence on the plains of Pancalieri.

The uppermost valleys of the Po, with those of Vraita and Maira, formed the territory of Saluzzo, and the old capital of the Marquisate lies on the slope of a hill, a foremost hill far advanced into the plain, at a short distance from the right bank of the river, and opposite to Revel. The whole length of the Val di Po proper, as we have seen, does not exceed twenty-one miles. Below Saluzzo the river rolls its broad waters across the plain, leaving Carmagnola on the right and Carignano on the left; and reaches at last that sweet range of hills which, from Moncalieri to Superga, runs all along its right bank, as if wooing

Turin on the opposite side,—a lovely region which the Turinese call "La Collina," and which they have studded all over with a thousand glittering villas, most of them to be reached by a few minutes' walk across the stream. This same hill-range continues to vary the scenery all along the ancient territory of Montferrat, as far as its capital, Casale, spreading southward over the territory of Chieri and Asti, and, from a culminating point, like Superga, bearing resemblance to a vast sea of swelling mountains, with almost every summit crowned by its village or castle, convent or church*.

The Po is only a fine river in its native Piedmont. Below Casale and Valenza, or, at the furthest, below Tortona and Voghera, the right bank becomes as flat as the left. The monotony of its rich but swampy grounds, reedy banks, and vast but shallow, murky waters, is hardly relieved by those long rows of Lombardy poplars, characteristic of a lower Italian landscape. The smaller towns on its banks are dull, though thriving; and the principal cities, Piacenza, Cremona, Ferrara, seem struck with the gloom that pervades its heavy atmosphere, and bear a look of more than Italian decay.

But the upper plain of the Po, above Turin,—the level grounds of Saluzzo and Piedmont Proper, between Pinerolo, Cavour, Busca, and Cuneo on the left side, and Mondovì, Cherasco, Poirino, Chieri, and Moncalieri on the right, with the towns of Fossano, Savigliano,

* Balbo, Frammenti sul Piemonte, ii. 52.

Racconigi, and others between them,—is a region of unsurpassed beauty as well as fertility. So are indeed the districts of the Lower Canavese, and the plains below Ivrea, Biella, and around Vercelli and Novara; so likewise the famous fields round Alessandria: the country everywhere dotted with villages, especially on the high and drier grounds, glittering white and vivid above the unfading green of the plains. Most of these Piedmontese towns, as the name of the country implies, are built at the foot of the mountains (*au pied des monts*). They sit gracefully, coquettishly as it were, all round the magic circle, each on its own mountain-knoll, gazing at, or laid out for the mutual admiration of, one another. Choice has been made of the view from Superga, as being perhaps the most central. But from any of the tops of the hills about Turin, from any of the spires or turrets around the great mountain-range, from Mondovì or Cuneo, from Pinerolo or Saluzzo, or from the distant singular rock of Cavour, rising all alone in the plain, half-way between the two last-named towns, and full four miles from the last spurs of the Alps, from any of the castles in the Canavese, or from the ramparts of Ivrea or Biella, the view is almost everywhere equally comprehensive, the panorama everywhere gorgeous and vast.

The hand of Providence has not withheld a single gift from this blessed land. It bestows on the plain rich crops of wheat, maize, and rice, which the perennial streams from the Alpine glaciers secure from drought in the longest summer heats; it mantles the

lower hill-sides with vineyards, renowned throughout Lombardy; it shades the valleys in their deepest recesses with chestnuts and walnuts, which attain all the height and luxuriancy of the English oak. Mere forest-trees are not numerous, for the niggardly industry of the Subalpine husbandman would grudge any space for mere timber: those long rows of trees which cross the plain in every direction, giving it the appearance of a half-cleared forest, those trees which look so quaint from an elevated point of view, dwarfed as they are by the distance, are mostly mulberry-trees, every leaf worth its weight in gold; and from every branch, in every tree, the vine hangs in festoons, whilst under the shade of both, the corn, nothing hindered, still contrives to ripen. Even in the mountains scarcely a bush grows but is made to contribute to the wealth no less than to the beauty of the country. The mountaineer of the Val d'Aosta and the Canavese raises his vines upon cliffs and crags which the very goat would not venture to climb.

But to return to our enumeration of Alpine streams. South of the Vraita, Maira, and Grana, from the gorges of the Maritime Alps, at the Col d'Argentiera, springs the Stura di Demonte, a river boasting a somewhat longer course, and rising to greater importance. The Stura has been the theatre of great deeds of arms during the French wars of olden times. Along its banks are the forts of the Barricades, Vinadio, Demonte, and Rocca Sparviera, some of them still capable of defence, but mostly in ruins. Below Rocca Sparviera,

and opposite to the Borgo San Dalmazzo, where a shrine dedicated to that martyr-bishop still stands on a spot hallowed by his blood, the river comes to a level ground extending about four miles, and terminating in a tongue of land, at the confluence of the Stura with its tributary the Gesso. Here is the site of the ancient citadel of Cuneo, now dismantled: the two rivers flow like great natural moats on either side beneath its bulwarks, and join immediately below them. Before it reaches Cuneo, and under the very Abbey of San Dalmazzo, the Gesso is joined by the Vermenagna, a torrent which has its sources at the Col di Tenda, and runs down by the side of the old carriage-road from Nice.

Below Cuneo, the Stura traverses the plain, past Fossano, and after a course of ninety miles ends in the Tanaro at Cherasco.

The latter-named river, together with the Pesio, the Ellero, the Corsaglia, and other tributaries, has its rise at the junction of the Alps with the Apennines. The heights of Ormea, Ceva, and Mondovì, from which those various rivers flow, received high renown from the exploits of the French republicans in 1796. The Tanaro, after its confluence with the Ellero and Pesio, flows on to Cherasco, where it is joined by the Stura; thence it winds through a labyrinth of hills, between Alba and Asti, and comes down to the great plain of Alessandria and the fields of Marengo,—a plain enclosed by the Montferrat hills on one side, and the last outskirts of the Apennines of Novi, Tortona, and

Voghera. Before it reaches Alessandria, the Tanaro has already received the tribute of the Belbo; immediately below the city it is joined by the Bormida, the several branches of which come down from the famed hills of Montenotte, Dego, and Millesimo, and unite a short distance above Acqui, an old Roman bath, and one of the chief towns of Montferrat. The Tanaro at Alessandria, swollen by all these streams, has obtained the importance of a great river, and it is rather as a rival than as a follower that it enters the Po, a few miles below Alessandria, under the hills of Valenza; with the exception of the Po itself, the Tanaro is the longest of the Piedmontese watercourses; its course is between 210 and 220 miles.

It was the abundant supply of waters from the Bormida and Tanaro that suggested to the warriors of the Lombard League of old the idea of building their main stronghold of Alessandria at their confluence, in 1168: and it is owing to the same advantageous position that Napoleon designed to make that city the strongest place in North Italy.

East of the Bormida, and of the Orba its tributary, are the sources of the Scrivia,—a river only in so far important, that along its valley run the high-road, and now the railroad, from Genoa to Turin. The Scrivia leaves the old walls of Novi on the left bank, and flows past those of Tortona on the right. Below the latter city it enters the Po, very nearly opposite the spot at which the Novarese stream, the Agogna, has its confluence.

The last river on this site is the Staffora, which, after passing under the bastions of the grim old feudal castle of Varzi, breaks forth into the plain under another of those dilapidated towns of old Italy, Iria or Voghera.

The Trebbia and Tidone are frontier streams. They both have their sources in Piedmont; but after no very long course they enter the territory of Piacenza, to which they properly belong. On the left or Sardinian bank of the Trebbia, where that stream for several miles marks the boundary between the two countries, rises the famous monastery of Bobbio, founded in the year 612, by the Irish monk St. Columban, one of the greatest monastic establishments of Italy in the Middle Ages.

All around this circle of mountains, ever since the time when the House of Savoy first put forth their claims to the proud appellation of guardians of the Alps, they had always striven to add all the resources of art to the great fortifications which Nature had reared up for their defence. Every valley, except where the rock and glacier scarcely allows a path for the chamois and its hunter, has been barred by fortresses, most of which could defy all the efforts of the most enterprising armies of Europe.

On the south, as we have seen, the Apennine defiles were made all safe by the positions of Montenotte and Dego, by Mondovì and Millesimo. The valley of the Stura was closed in its upper region by Demonte and the Barricades: further down, Cuneo effectually stopped

the way, not only against that valley, but also against those of the Gesso and Vermenagna, interrupting all communication through the Col di Tenda; that road was further secured, on the southern side, by the forbidding defile of Saorgio. North of the Stura, the valleys of the Grana and Maira were guarded by impassable mountains; that of Vraita, where its two branches of Chianale and Bellino meet, was defended by Castel Delfino. For the valley of the Po, the inaccessible Monte Viso was deemed a sufficient safeguard. At the very sources of the Pelice, the dismal fort of Mirabouc was reared; a fort perched up so high, and in so bleak a climate, that a French garrison forgotten there died of cold and hunger to a man, in 1795*. The valley of the Chiusone boasted, and still boasts, its Fenestrelles,—a line of five forts running up the hill-side, joined together by a great staircase four thousand steps high, roofed all over with bomb-proof arches. But as the upper Val Clusone belonged for a long time to the French, the whole mountain-crest between that valley and the Combe or Valley of Susa, the heights of the Col de l'Assiette, Col dell' Orsiera, etc., were all bristling with walls and bastions, almost on a level with the limit of perpetual snows,—a battle-field above the clouds, which both the French and Piedmontese repeatedly bathed with their best blood. In the upper Val di Susa itself, the Fort Exilles was intended to shut up the road from Mont Genèvre, and on the heights of Susa the im-

* Denina, Tableau Historique de la Haute Italie, p. 29.

pregnable Brunette was raised as a bulwark both against that and Mont Cenis. But the fate of this, as well as of other Piedmontese fortresses, was to fall by peace, after having withstood all the enemy's efforts in war; as the French, always jealous of the security of Italy, invariably exacted the demolition of these strongholds in the preliminaries of a treaty with Sardinia. The pass of Mont Cenis is now defended on the Savoy side by the Fort l'Esseillon.

Above Susa the three valleys of Lanzo and those of Locana and Soana were considered too inaccessible by nature to need the aid of human contrivance; but the Valley of Aosta, toward its end at Pont St. Martin, was guarded by the Fort de Bard,—that fort which had well-nigh frustrated all the prodigies of Bonaparte's march across the Great St. Bernard in 1800, and would indeed have utterly stopped and compelled him to a retreat—a retreat fraught with destruction—but for the imbecility, or perhaps arrant treason, of his opponent, the Austrian commander of the garrison.

The Fort of Bard was the last link in that long chain of fortifications, which aimed at converting the whole western division of the Alps into a vast citadel. The Pennine crest, from the Great St. Bernard to the Simplon, needed no other protection than its impervious snows. The valleys of Gressoney, and those of the Sesia, were never trodden by the foot of a foreign invader.

Most of the fortresses above enumerated are now either heaps of ruins, or are only used as garrisons,

with but little faith in their efficiency in the occurrence of actual war. Piedmont has laid aside its Alpine panoply. Modern enterprise and perseverance have smoothed down all ancient paths into splendid military roads (there are no less than seven broad carriage-roads across the Alps and Apennines in the Sardinian States alone), or have opened new lines of communication over precipices which were formerly never viewed without a shudder. There is nothing inaccessible now, nothing impregnable to human daring; and although the Alps still present at every step points in which the valour of few men could withstand the onset of an army, still the Piedmontese are well aware that it is with their bare breasts alone that such points must be defended, as there is scarcely a position that may not be turned, scarcely a stronghold that will not yield to time and ingenuity.

Outside this vast circle of Piedmont, all round the Alpine Crescent, the mountain-streams fall into one channel—the Rhone.

This, trickling out of the famous glacier which bears its name, at the foot of the Furka and Grimsel Passes, in the depth of that prodigious group of the St. Gothard, where the principal mountain-ridges and the main watercourses of Europe branch out in every direction, flows at first into the Valais, "an immense trough," bordered on the right by those "peaks of darkness, terror, and storm," and by those "inviolate summits," the glory of the Bernese Oberland; and, on the left by the Grieshorn, with the Passes of Nufenen

and the Gries, into the valleys of Ticino and Ossola by the Simplon range, the Monte Moro, and Monte Leone; and finally, by Monte Rosa, with the Pennine Crest as far as the Pass of the Great St. Bernard.

At Martigny, the valley, which had hitherto followed a south-westerly course, turns suddenly to the north-west, and after contracting near the site of the venerable convent of St. Maurice d'Agaune, between those great fangs on either Alpine jaw, the Dent du Midi and Dent de Morcèle, respectively on the left and right, it enters Lake Leman at Villeneuve, only to issue forth at Geneva. Hence, after struggling between the Savoy mountains on the left side, and the Jura of the French district of La Bresse, or De l'Ain, on the right, after sinking into an abyss—la Perte du Rhone—at Bellegarde, it darts down to Lyons, and takes an almost straight southward course to Vienne, Valence, Avignon, and Arles; its valley widening as it advances, with the Alps receding far away on the left, and the humbler Cevennes on the right. At Arles the "arrowy" stream at last abates its rapidity and branches off to the sea.

The waters of the Rhone—those bluest of waters—are at every step in its upper course defiled by the lawless streams that rush into it from both Alpine chains. The Saltine flows into it from the Simplon Pass at Brigg; and the Drance brings its reddish mud from the Great St. Bernard at Martigny. The waters of the Rhone soon regain their deep azure as they expand in the calm bosom of the Leman; but again, immedi-

ately below Geneva, they mix with the troubled Arve, which from the Col de Balme down the Vale of Chamouny, and along the Province of Faucigny, brings the melted snows from the hundred glaciers of Mont Blanc.

From Geneva to Lyons the mountains of Savoy send down no very large or broad river to the Rhone. Only the Fier descends below Seyssel with the waters of the beautiful Lake of Annecy through which it flows, and again, at another spot, nearly opposite and somewhat above, to Belley, the short canal of Savière offers an outlet to the Lake of Bourget, that lake the very heart of Savoy, at a short distance from Chambéry, and still closer to the Roman Thermæ of Aix. On the western bank of this lake, on a solitary ledge at the foot of the steep Mont du Chat, in the very ideal of a place for claustral retirement, lies the Abbey of Hautecombe —a kind of Escurial of the House of Savoy, a gloomy mansion to many of its princes, and the burial-place for most of them. From a short distance below Geneva, down to St. Genix, for a course of about fifty miles, the Rhone marks the frontier between Savoy and the old French province of La Bresse, now the Department de l'Ain. Below St. Genix, the line of demarcation, as far as Pont Beauvoisin and the famous Pass of Les Eschelles, is formed by the Guiers, which flows from the south, out of that vast cluster of mountains in the bosom of which St. Bruno chose his hermitage, at La Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble, in 1086,—that Chartreuse of which numerous colonies spread all over the mountains

of Savoy and Dauphiny. The river flows from the Chartreuse mountains in two branches, bearing the names of Guiers Vif and Guiers Mort; the former is the frontier stream up to its sources above St. Pierre d'Entremonts.

Not far from this spot, between the villages of Chaparcillan and Pont Charra, another of the Savoy streams, and the greatest—the Isère—enters France. This beautiful daughter of Mont Iseran has its sources at the head of the Val de Tignes, under the mountain that gives, or receives from it, its name: it comes close to the Pass of the Little St. Bernard, at Scez, thence waters the Tarentaise and its old metropolitan town of Moutiers, enters the county of Savoy below Conflans, now Albertville, and, under the white old towers of the castle of Miolans falls in with its great tributary the Arc. Beyond this confluence the Isère proceeds to the frontier town of Montmeillan, the ruins of whose citadel are strewn on an isolated rock rising athwart the very bed of the river. Soon after Montmeillan the stream flows into France, into that part of Dauphiny which now bears the name of the Department of the Isère; it forms the beautiful valley of Grésivaudan, down to the walls of Grenoble, and terminates in the Rhone four miles above Valence.

The Arc issues from the same great mass of Mont Iseran; it runs somewhat parallel to its sister stream of the Isère, only parted from it by the long glacier-ridge of the Vénoise, one of the many ramifications of the Grecian Alps. The Arc meets at Lanslebourg

the high-road of Mont Cenis, passes close under the cannon of Fort l'Esseillon, and traverses the sterile Maurienne, the cradle of the dynasty of Savoy: it bathes the old forlorn towns of Modane, St. Jean de Maurienne, and Aiguebelle, once the lordly residences of the reigning race, and mingles with the Isère at Miolans, or St. Pierre d'Albigny, after a course of sixty miles.

South of the Isère and Arc, between Mont Tabor (one of the great mountains in the Cenis group) and the Col de l'Enchastraye, in the centre of the Maritime Alps, the uppermost mountain-crest forms the boundary between Piedmont and France, and all the rivers on the western *versant* belong exclusively to the latter country. These are the Drac and the Romanche, tributaries of the Isère, and, above all, the great river of Dauphiny, the Durance.

This latter has its sources nearly opposite to those of the Dora Riparia, on Mont Genèvre; its numerous branches meet at the foot of the Genèvre Pass, in a deep gorge beneath the redoubted ramparts of Briançon: the river is swelled, at Mont Dauphin, by the Guill, which springs from Monte Viso and waters the valley of Queiras: further down, below the ancient shrine of Embrun, it meets the Ubaye flowing through the long valley of Barcelonette, and enters Provence at Sisteron: it thence wanders past Digne and Forcalquier, sweeps widely round to the south till it nearly approaches Aix, but again winds upward, and flows at last into the Rhone below Avignon.

The contrast between these northern and western, and the southern and eastern *versants* of the same mountain-chain,—between the broad but swampy, plague-stricken Valais, on the one side, and the rich and woody, although somewhat waste valleys of Aosta and Ossola, on the other,—and, again, between the thin pastures of Tarentaise and Maurienne, and the corresponding fields and vineyards of the vales of Susa, Pinerolo, and Saluzzo,—too clearly shows on which side the blessings of nature are most bountifully lavished. The ineffable joy with which the traveller, after struggling through any of those Alpine defiles, hails the Italian land, from whatever point he first catches a glimpse of its vast plains,—a joy, as Alfieri experienced, in which the very horses and beasts of burden seem to participate, "evincing it by neighs and bounds and inconsiderate skipping about,"—sufficiently makes him aware that it is not in vain the sun so fondly woos it; that the inexhaustible variety and luxuriance of its produce go hand-in-hand with the purity of the air and the genial temperature of the climate.

The slope of the Alps on the side of Piedmont is everywhere short and abrupt; they tower loftily over the land of the south, like a gigantic garden-wall: from any point on the uppermost crest the descent into lower grounds is generally but one day's, sometimes even only a few hours', march. The short and direct course of those valleys, added to the favourable exposure of most of them to the south or south-east,

allow the vivifying beams to penetrate to their inmost recesses; while, on the other side, the out-branching ridges are prolonged, and wind round at least for twice the distance; each of them rises like an invidious wall, casting its cheerless shade upon the subjacent grounds; and if that gloom contributes in some instance to the sublime picturesqueness of the landscape, it also dooms those western regions,—with the exception of a few favoured districts, such as the sunny valley of Grésivaudan above and below Grenoble,—to unredeemed barrenness.

We have already said that the Po runs throughout its valley in a straight course of only twenty-one miles; and that its fall, in this short space, is no less than 5200 feet. The Rhine has to run 140 miles before it reaches the same level, from its source to the Lake of Constance*; and even the Rhone, with all its impetuosity, has a gradual slope from the very head of the Valais to Lyons, a distance of above 180 miles.

The different character of the Subalpine and Transalpine valleys is not unaptly described in a popular couplet, in which the Dora Riparia is represented as bidding farewell to its sister stream the Durance, on the little lakelet which gives birth to both on the plain at the top of Mont Genèvre.

"Adieu, ma sœur, la Durance,
Nous nous séparons sur ce mont;
Tu vas ravager la France,
Je vais féconder le Piémont."

* Le Alpi che cingono l'Italia, cap. 2, p. 7.

Of all the districts west of the Alps, on the left bank of the Rhone, only a small portion, the Duchy of Savoy, belongs at the present day to Sardinia. But the possessions of the House of Savoy extended in former ages to several strips of the adjoining territories, even beyond the Rhone, the Leman, and the Jura, to several parts of Burgundy and Switzerland; Valais and Dauphiny were besides the theatre of incessant wars between the State of Savoy and its neighbours; its borders were constantly shifted; and the history of the Monarchy will not be easily understood without a thorough knowledge of the Alpine regions on either side.

South of the Piedmontese circle, below Monte Viso and the Col d'Argentiera, the Maritime Alps and the Apennines have a short and abrupt slope to the sea: Nice and Genoa are properly only a slip of land, the mere hem and border of Piedmont. This Riviera, or Maritime Liguria, sweeps all round from Nice to Spezia, in the form of a vast amphitheatre, with "Genoa the Proud" near its centre, rugged and precipitous, yet verdant and fragrant, sunning and mirroring itself in the azure waters of its crescent-like gulf. The course of the streams in this mere strip of territory is everywhere too short to assume any great importance. Toward the centre, indeed, the torrents that come down upon Cogoleto or Voltri have only a course of four or five miles; and even the little streams of the Bisagno and Polcevera, flowing east and west of Genoa, would be unknown by name, but for their

proximity to the great city, and the part they have played in its historical vicissitudes.

On either extremity of the Ligustic crescent however the territory extends over larger tracts, and its streams attain more considerable magnitude. The country of Nice is formed by the various branches of the Maritime Alps, the greatest bluffs of which rise abruptly above the sea at Villafranca and Turbia, and shut Nice itself out from Italy. Down these deep, rocky, and barren defiles come the Var and its great tributaries, the Tinea and Vesubia. The Var breaks forth from a great cluster of the Maritime Alps, which bears the name of L'Enchastraye, or the Four Bishoprics, the same mountains among which the Stura di Demonte has its sources. After a long course through Piedmontese lands, the Var enters for a few miles the French territory; it traces for about fifteen miles the confine between the county of Nice and the French department of the Var, and ends in the Mediterranean, a very broad though shallow river about five miles to the west of the town of Nice. The length of the Var is reckoned about sixty miles; and its bed, near the bridge of St. Laurent, on the high-road from Nice to Antibes, is between 700 and 800 metres wide*.

East of the valleys of the Var, Tinea, and Vesubia, is that of the Roya, which springs from the Col di Tenda, and comes down past the town of Tenda and the dismantled fortress of Saorgio, almost in a straight line, to Ventimiglia,—the Roya, the last child of the

* Bertolotti, Viaggio nella Liguria Marittima, i. 132.

Alps, and a spoiled child too, tearing down, roaring and thundering, whose turbid waters carry vast masses of rock to the sea.

On the eastern side of the crescent, again, Liguria gradually expands, in proportion as the Apennines recede from the coast, as they enter the territory of Parma. At Chiavari the valleys are somewhat longer and broader; further east the Vara and Magra, frontier-streams, have already attained some importance.

The Vara flows from the Apennine Pass of Monte Cento Croci, which here parts the Sardinian from the Parmesan territory; and traverses the Ligurian lands as far as its confluence with the main stream of the Magra, a little above Sarzana. The Magra itself springs from La Cisa, another Apennine Pass, with a high-road to Parma; and the whole of its valley, which bears the name of Tuscan Lunigiana, and of which Pontremoli is the capital, belonged to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and has only been annexed to Parma since 1848. The lower lands of this valley have been, both in ancient and modern times, a kind of debatable ground between Liguria and Tuscany; and, even at the present day, the confines of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Sardinia intersect and trench upon one another, at almost every two or three miles. The Sardinian territory stretches now a little beyond the left bank of the Magra, and encloses Sarzana and the beautiful Gulf of Spezia.

These lands, of which a description has been here attempted, and which constitute the whole of the ac-

tual dominions of the House of Savoy on *terra firma*, and to which the name of Subalpine or Western Italy has been sometimes with great propriety assigned, are inhabited by about 4,500,000 souls, upon a surface of about 20,000 square miles. Their greatest length, from the summit of the Grieshorn at the head of the Tosa, in Val d' Ossola, to the mouth of the Var, is calculated by Sardinian geographers* at about 200 miles; their greatest width, from the neighbourhood of Sarzana to Pont Beauvoisin on the road to Lyons, at 166 miles. They lie between 46° 47′, and 43° 39′ north latitude, and between 5° 38′ and 10° 7′ east longitude.

Exclusive of the poor and barren Duchy of Savoy, (containing 564,137 inhabitants, on a surface of 4270 square miles,) the purely Italian portion of these domains constitute perhaps the most compact, most rich and varied region in the known world. From the severe and bracing air of Upper Piedmont, to the sunburnt Riviera of Genoa and the perpetual spring of Nice, Chiavari, or Spezia, the climate is not only everywhere naturally salubrious, but, with scarcely any considerable exception, also invigorating and lively. From the steeple-like pine-trees of Val d'Aosta and Val Sesia, to the pale olives of Nice, the deep oranges of Chiavari, and the grey palm-trees of San Remo, the vegetation of the whole temperate zone, and part of the tropical, bursts out here with unrivalled spontaneousness. Lombardy may have wider plains, Campania deeper soil, but in Piedmont nature seems

* De Bartolomeis, Stati Sardi, i. 13.

never unmindful of beauty where it accumulates wealth; and that very alternation of hill and dale, of rugged and level ground, redeems the country from the dullness of too extensive a flat. Within so narrow a compass every valley has its own aspect, its own produce, with endless variety at each succeeding altitude. A few miles' walk brings the traveller into several degrees higher or lower temperature. From the glaciers of Mont Blanc to the first vineyards at Morgex is only two hours' walk; and round the first village close under Monte Rosa, at Alagna, such crops of hay are made as have little to envy the richest bottoms on the plain: the clouds, everywhere hanging on the great mountain-summits, curtain the land from the excessive glare of the summer heats, and gladden the ear with the roar of ever-gathering storms. At Nice and Genoa, where the sky is more cloudless and the sun fiercer, the atmosphere is enlivened by the cooling sea-breezes.

Wherever nature has fallen short of human wishes, the industry of a frugal people has diligently supplied the want. The hardy Ligurian has mantled his bare rocks with verdure up to the Apennine summits, and the Piedmontese boor has laid his lower lands underwater; and, by placing under confinement and exacting a tribute from every perennial stream of the Alps, has corrected the droughty nature of the soil, and counteracted the parching influence of the southern sun.

Such wondrous gifts are not indeed without alloy;

for, on the one side, the system of irrigation cannot to any extent be applied to the Montferrat hills, to the seacoast, and all the lands on the slopes of the Apennines, which boast of no glaciers or perpetual snows, and where the fields often wither under the scorching summer rays; and, on the other, the extreme moisture of Piedmont is apt to hang too heavily on the land, and to mar the serenity, to some extent even the salubrity, of the climate.

Still nature herself is seldom at fault, and she invariably points out the correction of such evils as spring from herself: the greatest calamities of the country are merely the result of man's own improvidence.

The Italians have stripped their country. The strong hand of a narrow despotism had, in Piedmont at least, most happily interfered with that half-avaricious, half-wanton spirit of destruction, which everywhere else in Italy, and still more so in southern France, stripped hill and dale of the glorious timber that clothed them; which bared the plain with a baneful influence on the climate, and bared the hill-sides with irreparable ruin to the soil. Up to very recent times, owing to the strict observance of forest laws enacted by the House of Savoy as early as 1638 and 1678, Piedmont could boast of being the best-wooded country not only in Italy but in Europe, perhaps, after England; and the foreign visitor who crossed those densely-planted valleys, who approached Turin under the interweaving branches of its miles and miles of magnificent avenues, had reason to bless that "single will" which

prevailed for so long a time against the heedless propensities of the many*.

All this has now undergone a change for the worse. During that relaxation of all social order, inseparable from the enjoyment of an ill-understood, because too readily gotten freedom, the first impulse of a blind multitude urged them to fall upon and lay waste the primæval forests of Alps,—those forests which had possibly witnessed the passage of the mountains by Charlemagne, or even by Hannibal himself. None but those who have penetrated to the innermost recesses of the valleys can say how many thousands of fir and beech trees have been felled, almost at one swoop, since the slackening of the old laws of Piedmont under the well-meaning Charles Albert, in 1846. The fatal consequences of this irreparable deed of vandalism are immediately apparent. Everywhere the cliffs of the southern Alps,—so steep and straight and perpendicular, which were only held up by the interlacing roots of those gnarled old trunks, are now cut up by extensive land-slips and ravines. Every spring thaw, every autumnal rain, tear open the bosom of the mountains; and their very bowels slide down, crumble down, and choke up the channels of the rivers, raising their beds, till they flow ravaging over the land. Every bridge and dike in Val d'Aosta or Val d'Orco, nay, the stupendous works of the Simplon road and Val d'Ossola, have been burst asunder by the ungovernable fury of torrents, which seem yearly

* Le Alpi che cingono l'Italia, cap. 7, p. 365.

to bring down the very Alps in their overwhelming freshets,—a fury against which the experience of the past had not taught the engineer to provide a remedy. Vast tracts of all the broader valleys have thus been invaded by the destroying element, and present now a blank wilderness of sand and gravel and heavy blocks of stone. Certainly any lovelier spot than the Val d'Aosta was not to be seen under the sun. Viewed from some commanding position, as for instance from the Pizzo di Nona, south of the city of Aosta, it smiles on the beholder like the very Eden of valleys: its trellised vines, its fresh orchards, its dense deep chesnut-groves, its cornfields, make it a garden which art has vied with nature in embellishing; a garden, too, wondrously fenced round by snowy mountains, an horizon of glittering glaciers. But alas! even here the genius of destruction has prevailed: the mud of a hundred torrents streaks the green plain in every direction; it tears down vineyards, and strips chesnut plantations; it buries cornfields, with all the desolating effects of lava from an active volcano.

It must be allowed indeed, that the evil is of old date, inseparable to some extent from the formation of the mountains and the nature of the soil; but no one will deny, that it has been of late an alarmingly growing evil, and ascribable to the causes we have alluded to; nor can the ultimate results of this original mischief on the temperature of the climate, on the course of the winds, and the healthiness of the air, be contemplated without the gloomiest forebodings.

Most of these Piedmontese valleys have always been too sadly visited by loathsome diseases. That very paradise of the Val d'Aosta has been, since time immemorial, the hotbed of goître, cretinism, and all the foul complaints which some not well known cause breeds almost throughout the mountain region. But certainly the hideous scourge is constantly on the increase, in the same measure as the open valleys are exposed to the ravages of their riotous streams; and, on the other hand, where the mountain-sides continue whole and verdant, where the waters are fresh and pure,—as we have seen in Val Sesia, and the Waldensian valleys above Pinerolo, the same illnesses are either unknown, or appear only under mitigated aspects,—a circumstance which may well encourage a belief that the evil is mainly, if not wholly, attributable to the exhalations of stagnant waters, and may cured by a thorough drainage.

In the meanwhile, the traveller who rides on the main-road of the Val d'Aosta, from Cormayeur to Pont St. Martin, and scarcely meets with any living being but the wretched cretin, with his vacant stare, yellow face, shrunken form, and crippled limbs, will have his heart wrung at the sight of so general a deterioration of a whole human tribe; he will gaze around with dismay, and wonder where the labourers of the soil live, by whose exertions so large a part of the valley, and the very inaccessible summits, are made to wear so smiling an aspect; for the squalid beggars who cross his path, with inarticulate appeals to his bounty, are

evidently too much below the brutes to be able to take care of their country or of themselves.

In the plains, again, the Piedmontese have to contend with evils of their own making, for Nature is nowhere to be found fault with in Italy. For many years government has striven to neutralize the effects of the malaria from the marshy rice-grounds of Vercelli, Novara, and Lomellina, by limiting the cultivation of that dreaded seed within certain districts, and protecting inhabited spots from its baneful proximity. The curse of the malaria is however only partially removed; and, in those extensive flats, any remissness in the drainage of the soil, the very necessity for so general a system of irrigation, the putrefaction of hemp in every ditch,—a thousand disorders, in short, all arising from the sordidness of that old-fashioned Italian husbandry, so lavish of human life,—conspire in Piedmont (though to a somewhat more limited extent than in the neighbouring Lombardy) to breed those fevers, which the unanimous and resolute will of a truly free and humane people might perhaps efficiently and permanently banish from the country.

But we anticipate. It will be the best part of our task, to inquire, in the course of this work, how far political vicissitudes, and civil, social or moral institutions, have either augmented or diminished the well-being of a people so advantageously situated,—how far all these causes have combined with their natural position to form their characters and to determine their destinies.

The Kingdom of Sardinia, a mére aggregate of separate States, falling under the sway of the reigning House at distant periods, and under peculiar conditions and circumstances, has repeatedly undergone a variety of arbitrary divisions and limitations. The Continental States have recently been reduced to eight main Divisions. These are again subdivided into thirty-seven Provinces; the Provinces into 409 Mandamenti (districts or arrondissements), and these into 2709 Comuni or municipalities.

With a view to follow up the position of rivers and valleys pointed out in the foregoing description, we shall somewhat depart from the order generally adopted in official statements, and give our enumeration of Divisions and Provinces as follows.

1st. Division of Novara, which consists of four provinces, viz. Pallanza, or Val d'Ossola, Novara, Vercelli, and Mortara, or Lomellina; the latter enclosed between the lower lands of Novara and Vercelli, and the left bank of the Po.

2nd. Division of Aosta, with only one province, made up by the ancient Duchy of that name.

3rd. Division of Turin, with five provinces: Biella, Ivrea, Turin, Susa, Pinerolo.

4th. Division of Cuneo, with four provinces: Saluzzo, Cuneo, Mondovì, Alba.

5th. Division of Alessandria, six provinces: Acqui, Asti, Alessandria, Casale, Tortona, Voghera.

6th. Division of Savoy, with seven provinces: Chablais, on the southern bank of the Leman; Faucigny,

or Valley of the Arve; Tarentaise, or Val d'Isère; Maurienne, or Vale of the Arc; Upper Savoy and Savoy Proper, between the three last-named provinces and the Rhone and Guiers on the French frontier; finally, Genevois, or Genevese, between Savoy Proper, Faucigny, and the Rhone, encompassing on the north a small strip of land belonging to the City and Canton of Geneva.

7th. Division of Nice, with the three provinces of Nice, Oneglia, and San Remo.

8th. Division of Genoa, with seven provinces: Albenga, Savona, Genoa, Chiavari, Levante, or Spezia, all on the sea, and Novi and Bobbio, north of the Apennines.

The Island of Sardinia (containing 9167 square miles, with 524,633 inhabitants) forms two divisions, of Cagliari and Sassari; the former with six, the latter with five provinces.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT TIMES.

THE original inhabitants of the regions of which we have been rapidly tracing the outlines, are imperfectly known in the records of antiquity; but it would seem plausible to designate them under the general name of Ligurians.

Indeed it has been all but historically proved, that people bearing this appellation ranged at a very early period over the whole extent of land along the seacoast, from the Rhone to the Magra,—some would even say, from the Pyrenees to the Arno; and inland, in southern Gaul, as far up as the Cevennes and the Helvetian Alps; in Italy, north of the Apennines, as far as the Po; and beyond that river, up to the summits of the Maritime, Cottian, Graian, and Pennine Alps.

On the west, they found themselves, from the beginning, in contact with the Iberians, and subsequently with the Gauls; with both of whom, but especially the latter, they appear intermixed. Traces of Ligurian tribes,—such as the Salyans, Salvians, or Salluvians,

the Oxybians, the Deceates, and others,—tarried on the Rhone long after the colonization of the coast of southern Gaul by the Phœnicians and Phocæans; they hovered on the borders of the Massilians, or Marseillais, in friendly intercourse with them and in hostility; and were at last partly subdued and partly dispersed, and driven eastwards along-shore, or upwards to the Alps, by the Romans, when these conquerors took the Grecian Colony under their protection, and founded their own first province in Gaul at Aquæ Sextiæ, or Aix, in the very territory of the Salluvians, 125 years before the Christian æra.

On the east, the Ligurians were equally at war with the Etruscans, who drove them from the plain, pressed upon them on both sides of the Apennines, and ended by forcing them to their well-known boundaries of the Trebbia, near Piacenza, on the north, and of the Magra near the Gulf of Spezia, on the south of those mountains. From those rivers, all along-shore to the Var, and north of the Apennines to the right bank of the Po, as well as on both sides of the Maritime Alps, up to Monte Viso, they held their ground, on that fine strong land which bore their name, and which after long wars of extermination was at length reduced to subjection toward the year 150 before Christ, and organized into a Roman province, the ninth in the division of Augustus.

But beyond those limits of Liguria Proper, on the left bank of the River Po, up to the foot of the Cottian Alps, dwelt the Taurini, and on that mountain-chain

itself their kindred tribes, all of Ligurian blood; twelve or fourteen of whose "cities,"—more properly tribes or communities,—lived under the rule of M. Julius Cottius, their king or chieftain, in friendly alliance with the Romans, in the time of Augustus and his immediate successors*.

Under the denomination of Ligurians are likewise included the Libui, Lævi, or Lai, all kindred people, settled on the left bank of the Po, from the Dora Baltea to the Ticino, and even beyond that river, and whose possessions extended far up to the mountains of Biella, Vercelli, and Novara. The Orobii, on the Lake of Como and Iseo, the Stoni, on the Lake of Garda and the Adige, and finally the Euganei, a great nation originally stretching from the Rhætian Alps to the Adriatic, would also seem to have had Ligurian blood in their veins.

It requires indeed no great effort of imagination to conceive that these Ligurians, or other primæval races akin to them, were, at the earliest period, and before the Etruscan and Gallic invasions, in possession of all the habitable part of Northern Italy.

"The Ligurians," says Niebuhr, "are one of those nations whom the short span of our history embraces only in its decline†." Our earliest records, indeed, only fall in with its scattered fragments. All we know about them comes from the Greeks and Romans, who became but too late acquainted with them; and perhaps

* Strabo, lib. iv. fol. Paris, 1620, p. 204.—Pliny, iii. 21.

† Römische Geschichte, i. 171.

two or three words are all that was preserved of their peculiar dialects. There is no distinct evidence of their being subdued, or to any extent reconciled to the manner of settled people, previous to the Roman conquest, although Micali throws out some hints of their having being under Etruscan influence north of the Po*. The Romans themselves, in their eighty-years' war against Liguria Proper, found it easier to destroy than to tame that fierce people. Like all savage races, the Ligurians everywhere withdrew from their foe, abandoning to him the most eligible residences, and making good their retreat among those native fastnesses, which rendered mere physical strength and hardihood a match for the aggregate efforts of civilized warfare.

Indeed it may be questioned whether the primitive races of Northern Italy ever had any other homes than these same strongholds of the Alps and Apennines. The open plains of the Po had certainly at no time been a fit habitation for the helpless man of the tribe. Vast tracts of that "garden" were little better than dismal swamps, until rescued from the fury of their flooding streams by Etruscan industry; a circumstance which would have contributed to keep the races of North Italy asunder, even before the organized colonies drove them from the plains, and to confine them to their mountain abodes, each on their own valley, with but little communication between them, till time had estranged them, and made them forgetful of their common origin.

* Antichi Popoli Italiani, i. 132, ii. 13.

The first foreign enemy with whom the natives of Northern Italy came into collision were the Etruscans. Where this people came from, has been of late a mooted point,—a problem which it is irrelevant for us to solve. Whether they came to eastern or central Italy by sea, or whether they burst into northern Italy through the Passes of the Rhætian Alps, leaving their various tribes on those mountains, and all along their way, we need not inquire. It is apparent, however, that it was in Central Italy that they reached their acme of civilization, and that from thence they extended their possessions north and south. They were universally looked upon as comparatively recent intruders, and as such obnoxious to all the native races. They came up with the slow and silent but sure tread of civilization, along the shores of Umbria, or across the Apennines of Romagna, Modena, and Parma. The Ligurians, or other tribes that lay in the Etruscans' path, retired before them, westward along the Apennines, both south and north of them, rather than northward, where they would have floundered in the marshes of the Po. When, at the downfall of the Etruscan power, says Niebuhr, resting on Polybius' authority, the Ligurians extended their confines along the Apennines as far south as the Casentino, they only won back what had been of old taken from them*. But as the advancing colonists occupied the plain and crossed the great river, the native races who dwelt to the north of it had no refuge except on the Alps. Thus were the

* Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, i. 172.—Polyb. ii. 16.

so-called "Aborigines" of Northern Italy scattered about in every direction. A large body of them established their head-quarters in Liguria Proper, where the rugged but sunny Riviera, the woods and pastures of the Apennines and the Montferrat hills, and the Maritime Alps, rocky and barren, but habitable throughout, offered a fit sojourn; large masses of the same people established themselves in contact with them, north of the Po, in those lands of the Taurini, Taurisci, and Libui, who occupied the country,—probably at first only the highlands from Turin to Novara; whilst other tribes, such as the Orobii, Stoni, and Euganei, wandered up to the northern Alps, and clustered here and there, where chance rather than choice drove them. It is a fact which seems to strike every critic who has turned his attention to the subject, that one and the same race was settled all over North Italy long previous to Etruscan times. This indigenous race is variously designated, under the names of Umbrians, Tyrrhenians, Liburnians, etc.* But, on the other hand, it is universally acknowledged that the Ligurians were a most important branch of this primitive race,—akin to, if not identical with, all those above named; and that all the tribes to whose immigration no certain period can be assigned, and who are therefore looked upon as the *Autochthones*, such as the Orobii, Stoni, and Euganei, are mere fragments of the great primæval race, and

* Durandi, Antichi Popoli d'Italia, §§ i., ii.—Balbo, Storia d'Italia, lib. i. § 1-3.—Niebuhr's Römische Geschichte, i. 177.

have the epithet "Ligurian" invariably added to their other national appellation.

So far as Western Italy is concerned, not only is it true that "the whole of Piedmont, in its present extent, was inhabited by the Ligurians*," but these were found astride the Alpine chain, and equally peopled the valleys on the other side. The Cottians, for instance, had overstepped the mountain-crests which bore their name, and their territory extended into Dauphiny as far as Embrun. The valleys of the Upper Isère and the Arc were occupied by tribes of undoubted Ligurian descent; and, in fact, the various clans of this people were masters of the whole chain of the Alps,—with, perhaps, the exception of the Rhætian districts,—at the time the Gauls first forced their way across that unavailing barrier of Italy.

Historians had hitherto, on the authority of Livy, dated the first Gallic invasion from the days of Tarquinius Priscus, about 591 years before the Christian æra; making that event almost simultaneous with the settlement of the Ionians in Southern Gaul. But modern critics, with Niebuhr at their head†, grounding their assertions on the testimony of Polybius and Diodorus, assign a far later period (400 to 389 years B.C.) to that event. The crossing of the Alps by Bellovesus, and the taking of Rome by Brennus, are now blended into one great catastrophe. It is not

* Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, i. 172.

† Römische Geschichte, ii. 574.—Vorträge über Röm. Gesch., iii. 366.

difficult to demonstrate that the condition of Western Italy was not materially affected by it.

According to Niebuhr, who sets all Livy's authority at nought, the Gauls crossed, not through the land of the Taurini, as the Roman historian so distinctly states*, but further up, probably at the Simplon. All successive invasions, all intercourse between Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, would thus have taken place over that same Simplon chain, all along the Valais, which even Livy describes as inhabited by semi-German people, and down the Val d'Ossola, and probably Lake Maggiore and the Ticino.

"As far as Aosta," says Niebuhr himself, "the ancient inhabitants maintained themselves; for the Salassians, Taurinians, and others, were Ligurians, and the people at the foot of the St. Gothard were Etruscans. The Rhætians, Camunians, Lepontians, Stonians, etc., and other Alpine tribes in the Tyrol, the Grisons, and the southern Alps as far as Verona, stood fast on their own territories, like islands among the invading Gauls, who poured in upon them like the sea." And again: "The Ligurians were a very warlike people, and held their ground on both sides of the Alps. (The Allobroges were however pure Celts.) Hence Cisalpine Gaul in our maps, even in D'Anville's, is much too large. No part of the province of Milan now belonging to Piedmont was ever included in it, but only the present Austrian part of the territory of Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Lombardy south of the Po, as far as

* Livy, v. 32, 34.

the Adriatic, and north of the Po to the Lake of Garda; all the country they occupied was in the plain."

By this most important passage, Niebuhr proves that Piedmont never was subdued, most probably not even traversed, by the Gauls.

Niebuhr states here that the Salassi,—the people of the Val d'Aosta and the Canavese,—were of Ligurian blood; forgetting he had said previously, that "they may have been a Gallic race*." The same doubt he evinces with respect to the Vocontii, who inhabited the lower valley of the Durance, and the same uncertainty might arise as to the nationality of the Allobroges, whom he considers "pure Celts," whilst others fearlessly describe them as Ligurians†.

Perhaps indeed the real difference between the Gaul and the Ligurian has never been positively ascertained. All ancient writers seem struck with their resemblance, even whilst they strive to establish a difference between them. Strabo considers the Ligurians as of another race than the Celts, though greatly like them in their style of life‡. They were most probably all Celtic tribes, but of different migrations. Durandi has a theory which may be considered highly plausible, that Europe was peopled by three great successive invasions, previous to the epoch of the earliest Grecian colonization by sea.

Firstly, by Iberians, Ligurians, and Umbrians, com-

* Vorträge über Röm. Gesch., i. 373.
† Durandi, Antichi Popoli d'Italia, 85.
‡ Strabo, ii. 128.

ing from Illyrium along the Adriatic shore, or across the Italian Alps; thence spreading all over Italy, and then either along-shore, or across the Maritime Alps into southern Gaul and Spain.

Secondly, by the Gauls,—to whom the name of Celts seems to have been more commonly given,—who, from the same Illyrian lands, made their way all along the northern foot of the Alps into Helvetia and Central Gaul.

Finally, by the Cymri, also from the east, who finding the southern and central lands occupied by their predecessors, threw themselves further north, into the plains of Germany, Belgium, Northern Gaul, and Britain*.

Hence, in the world, according to Herodotus; we find all along the Mediterranean only Iberians, Ligurians and Tyrrhenians, with Umbrians in Northern Italy, and the Celts looming far away in the north of Gaul. Scylax, at a somewhat later period, describes the country from the Pyrenees to the Rhone as inhabited by Iberó-Ligures, whilst from the Rhone to the Arno the people are simply Ligurians; in still later times the Gauls, or Celts, pressed forward, and we hear of new mixtures of Celto-Iberians and Celto-Ligurians. There is a hopeless confusion in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, who too often applied the name of Galli to all Celts, and with whom the latter word had become synonymous with northern barbarian, and was used even to designate the Scythians

* Durandi, Antichi Popoli d' Italia, pp. 24, 109.

and Sauromatians of the East*. Truly all these races may have been originally from the same stock; they may have had a common mother-tongue; but time and intermixture with other races had so far altered them, that, as they pressed upon one another, after a long lapse of years, they naturally looked upon each other as strangers, while their dialects had become mutually almost unintelligible.

All the people in Southern Gaul, and especially on the banks of the Rhone, we imagine, such as the Volcæ, Vocontii, Allobroges, etc., were originally Ligurians,—that is, Celts of the first invasion; but they were to a certain extent encroached upon by the Gauls, or Celts of the second irruption,—and had joined with them into one people. It was therefore an error to consider as Gauls the Allobroges, Salassi, Taurisci, etc.: Celts they undoubtedly were, but they either belonged to the first migration, and were therefore Iberians, Ligurians or Ibero-Ligures, or had intermixed with the Gauls or Celts of the second migration, and their appellation should have been Gallo-Ligures.

Although, as we have said, time and distance had somewhat estranged these different Celts, still a good understanding and even alliance must always have been an easy matter, between people whose features, language, and habits gave irresistible evidence of original consanguinity. Whatever route the Gauls of Bellovesus or Brennus may have followed, they found on the Alps and at the foot of them Ligurian people.

* Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, iv. 193.

They found tribe-men, wild men like themselves, most probably akin to them by blood, but at any rate bearing a sufficient resemblance to render hostility with them anything but safe or profitable. The overflowing of the Gallic world at this period, independent of the pressure of new tribes from the North (probably the Cymri, or Celts of the third migration), was partly determined by the encroachments of the Greeks of Marseilles, both on the Ligurian of Southern Gaul, and on the Gaul himself, who had long since laid himself down by the Ligurian's side. The tale we learn from Livy*; that the Massilians, hard pressed by the Salyans, had recourse to the Gauls of Bellovesus, must be dismissed by all those who, with Niebuhr, look upon Bellovesus himself as a mythic personage. At the utmost it would only prove enmity between one Gallic tribe and a Ligurian one; but there is all probability that both Ligurians and Gauls regarded the Grecian settlement with equal mistrust and resentment; and that, although curiosity and the temptation of petty traffic may have led to some occasional intercourse, and even alliance, between the colonists and their neighbours of either race,—as the French and English found confederates among the Red Indians of North America,—still the uppermost feeling in the heart of all barbarians was that of unmitigated hostility against the alien intruder; and the Celts of both races would always have readily combined in what was the common cause of all tribe-men.

* Livy, v. 34.

Now the war of tribe against city, as Michelet justly observes*, had alike been waged on either side of the Alps. What the Celto-Ligurians had to complain of on the part of the Massilians, formed equally the grievance of the Italo-Ligurians against their Etruscan neighbours. There was therefore community of interest, no less than similarity of disposition and connexion by blood, to prevent a collision on the mountains or at their foot. That some of the Ligurians, especially those who dwelt on the Rhone and west of the Maritime Alps, either joined the Gauls in their early expedition or soon followed them, is indeed matter of historical certainty. The Salyans, for instance, came at this epoch from Provence, and settled on the Po, by the side of the Libuans, or original Ligurians of Vercelli; and a tribe of Caturiges made its way from the Cottian Alps into Insubria†. The Gauls, who were essentially men of the plain, whose object was the conquest of the plain and the destruction of the city, must needs have passed lightly and swiftly over the Italian tribe-men. They were in many instances aided and joined by the latter in their enterprise; but at any rate they met with no hindrance and exercised no hostility.

With all this community of blood and interest however, the Gaul and Ligurian seemed, at least in Italy, indisposed to blend together in one people. We hear at least of no Celto-Ligures south of the Alps; and

* Michelet, Histoire de France, liv. 1. ch. 1.

† Livy, v. 35.—Pliny, iii. 21.

this, in all probability because the Ligurians of Western Italy, unlike those of Southern Gaul, were sufficiently strong and manfully determined to hold their own. Niebuhr has already told us that "all the Gauls possessed in Insubria was on the plain." Durandi equally assures us*, that the Gauls never went very high up in the mountains. Indeed they only took what the Etruscans had ages before usurped, and undid for some time the work of civilization which those colonists had achieved. Wherever Gaul and Ligurian lay down together in the same district, the former invariably occupied the level ground, while the latter, as if by native instinct, took to the highlands†. The Gaul never had any reason or object to tarry on the mountains. That mere threshold of the land of promise had but little to entice the impetuous invader. Wave after wave, downward, onward, the Gauls pressed with their wonted fury, only eager for that deathly grapple with the Tusco-Latin cities, in which, after two centuries of ruthless warfare, they were destined to succumb.

That the attack of all enemies invariably drove the Ligurian to the mountains, results from all the testimonies of antiquity. By the side of Boii, Senones, Gæsatæ, and other nations of foreign extraction, ancient writers invariably place mountaineers whom they designate under the name of Ligurians: these sometimes survive the intruders who had originally forced

* Antichi Popoli d'Italia, pp. 143-145.

† Strabo, v. 212.

them from their seats. In Cispadane Gaul, for instance, after the extinction of the Boii, Senones, etc., Strabo distinctly asserts*, that none were left but the Roman colonists and the "Ligurian tribes."

The Gauls, therefore, from Bellovesus to Hannibal, either never at all touched the lands of Piedmont, and their road lay along the Valais and Val d'Ossola,—or, even adopting Livy's assertion that they crossed from the Tricastini to the land of the Taurini, they only hurried over Subalpine countries and left little or no trace of their passage. The only strangers that settled in Piedmont, such as the Salyans or Salluvians, and other minor tribes, were most assuredly Ligurians; these were welcomed as kinsmen, and allowed to share their homes with the primitive inhabitants; whilst the pure Gauls, as comparative strangers, went forth to seek their fortune elsewhere.

All the accounts we have of Hannibal's expedition would seem to give strength to our assertion, that the Gauls never had any permanent home west of the Ticino.

The Carthaginian General, in fact, met with the more or less willing support of the Transalpine Gauls as far as the Rhone. He had the good fortune to win over a great part of the powerful nation of the Allobroges to his cause, and was met on the Rhone by messengers of the Boii, and other Cisalpine Gauls, who offered to show him the way across the mountains. He could be at no loss, therefore, as to the route that

* Strabo, v. 216.

was best for him to follow: he had only to march on the track which Gallic feet must have been treading for the last two hundred (or, as Livy would have it, four hundred) years, where he would, all along, have met with the brethren of those very Gauls who marched in his van.

These events of the second Punic War (B.C. 218–202) are of vital importance to our subject, as they throw the greatest light on the position of western Italy at that period.

The very spot where Hannibal crossed the Alps will never perhaps be satisfactorily ascertained; but it matters not. Modern critics, on the testimony of General Melville, are inclined to settle on the Little St. Bernard, as the point where the African crossed from the valley of the Isère into that of the Dora Baltea, or of Aosta. The Italians, and especially the Piedmontese, familiar with those mountains, have always been, and still are, rather in favour of some spot in the Cottian Alps, and most generally of Mont Genèvre; some supposing that he followed the valley of the Dora Riparia, through Oulx and Susa; some, that he was driven by the hostility of the mountaineers to cross the Col de Sestrières, and thence down the Val Clusone, through Fenestrelles and Pinerolo to Turin. Ukert, who has with true German diligence collected all ancient and modern opinions on the subject, pronounces in favour of Mont Cenis*. For our own part,

* Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, iv. 559, *seq.*, über den Zug des Hannibal.

we do not hesitate an instant to accept the Piedmontese version in favour of Mont Genèvre.

But, wherever the passage was really effected, there seems at least no doubt, and on this point all authorities are agreed, that he struck across a path ill known to himself or to his guides, where he met with natural obstacles which nothing short of his transcendant genius could have overcome; where he fell in with wild tribes, who disputed the ground inch by inch, who had recourse to stratagem, if not to lead him astray, at least to waylay him, and who detained him above two weeks in those straits, causing him a loss of six-and-thirty thousand men,—one-half of his army*.

Now that so sagacious a leader as Hannibal should have so blundered in his route, encumbered as he knew himself to be with horse and elephants, if either the Gauls, the Allobroges, or other people who marched in his suite, or the Cisalpine messengers who had but lately crossed over to him, and on whose representation of the feasibility of a march across the Alps, notwithstanding its acknowledged difficulties, he had been emboldened to proceed,—could have told him of any beaten track, of any way better than the hunter or shepherd's path, or could have led him by a route of their own, through settlements of their own,—appears by no means conceivable. The favour of the Gaul, which befriended him both west and south of the mountains, evidently stopped at that

* Polybius, iii. 48, *seq.*—Livy, xxi. 32-38.

formidable barrier,—a significant fact, from which it seems impossible not to infer, that all previous invasions had been made at hazard; and that the Gaul, far from having any permanent home on the Piedmontese Alps, had, if ever, crossed them at rare intervals, perhaps at different points, and left hardly any road, at least for military purposes, behind him: also, that all the native population of the Alpine chain—at least from Monte Viso to the Simplon—was something different from the Gaul himself, at war with him, and, with the natural impulse of all savage races, with all who attempted to trespass on their rugged domains.

This is so true, that, when twelve years later Hasdrubal had to pass over the same mountains, probably in the very track of his brother, he effected his journey with comparative speed and in perfect safety*, having beforehand taken care to propitiate the inhabitants all along his line of march, and even taken several thousand Ligurians into his pay; for the Alpine people, despairing now of any support from the Romans, and perceiving that no harm was intended to them, and all that was wanted of them was merely a free passage, were so far re-assured, as not only to give him no molestation, but even to join him.

A short retrospect of the condition of Northern Italy previous to Hannibal's invasion will better illustrate our views; and we dwell the more willingly on the subject, as all ancient historians, eager to arrive

* Livy, xxvii. 39.

at the description of the great battles on the Ticino and the Trebbia, pass rather too hastily over the Carthaginian's march across the Alps,—by far the most epic episode in the whole campaign.

From the earliest invasion of Italy by the Gauls, as we learn from Durandi, the surest guide in such researches*, the various tribes of North Italy had been divided into two distinct and generally hostile parties; that of the original settlers, and that of the new comers. The former was made up for the most part of Ligurians and their kindred people; the latter consisted of Gauls with perhaps such Celto-Ligurians as had followed in their track. These aliens generally took the field under the standard of the Insubrians,—people of Milan: the native Ligurians had the Taurini at their head.

The Ligurians, or native Italians, had at a very early epoch no war but with the Etruscans, and had therefore frequently allied themselves with the Romans, under whose attacks the Etruscan power was rapidly sinking. The Gauls also, on their first onset, came to give battle to the Etruscans, and insofar their invasion was viewed with favour by the native people. But when the Etruscans ceased to give any uneasiness, and the Gauls came to their deadly contest with the Romans, the North-Italians wavered in their policy, —actuated by the instinctive hatred of all uncivilized races for their polished neighbours, and alarmed at

* Durandi, Antichi Popoli d' Italia, p. 86.—Antica Condizione del Vercellese, pp. 8–12.

the extensive inroads, the power and arrogance, of their impetuous half-kinsmen the Gauls.

At the epoch of the great universal effort of all the Cisalpine people against Roman ascendancy,—known in Roman history as the great Gallic War (B.C. 226–222)—the Taurini of Piedmont, the Salassi of Aosta, and the Libui of Vercelli, were, by the testimony of Polybius*, ranged with the Insubrians, Boii, etc. on the one side; whilst the Romans, with their allies of Southern Italy, came up on the other. It was a war of extermination between the northern and southern divisions of the Peninsula; and on both sides the number of combatants exceeded that of the very largest hosts brought into the field, in later times, by Napoleon himself. The Gauls and their allies were prostrated in more than one encounter; the Romans, for the first time, crossed the Apennines and the Po, and founded their first colonies at Piacenza and Cremona, in the very heart of the enemy's territory.

The Gauls however, though severely chastised, were not yet wholly disheartened; and on the first tidings of the great storm that was gathering against Rome from the distant horizon of Spain, on the first declaration of the second Punic War (B.C. 218), the Boii rose in open hostility, and, more or less openly seconded by their brethren of Insubria, they attacked those ill-protected Roman settlements, and hastened to send a deputation to Hannibal, promising a general rise of all Northern Italy in his behalf, if he would only cross the Pyre-

* Polybius, ii. 27.

nees and the Alps, and carry the war into their own broad lands.

The Boii and Insubrians promised however more than they could achieve; for the Taurini, and, in all likelihood, the Ligurians and other primitive races with them, had, either dismayed by the experience of previous wars, or induced by attachment and gratitude to the Romans, withdrawn from the league of their Gallic neighbours, and, together with their brethren on both sides of the Alps, were, in the main, hostile to the African's undertaking.

Wherever the population was made up of genuine Gauls, or at least wherever the Gallic element prevailed,—that is, as far as the Rhone,—Hannibal met with but little obstruction. It was only on crossing that river, that he first fell in with the Vocontii, a Ligurian, or at least semi-Ligurian people, who attempted to dispute his further progress. Through them he forced his way across the stream, and travelled upwards to the country of the Allobroges; not, indeed, because these latter were pure Gauls, or naturally inclined to befriend him, but because they happened to be torn by intestine discord, which enabled him to gain the goodwill of one faction by aiding it, in the subjugation of the other. The goodwill of a part, or even the whole, of the powerful nation of the Allobroges, could not however help the Carthaginian across the mountains; for their territory, vast as it might be, was down on the plains of the Rhone, whilst the upper valleys of the Isère, Arc, and Durance, were

occupied by tribes over whom the Allobroges had no control.

These tribes are known to us by name,—the Centrones, Graioceli, and Caturiges, who figure in history in later times, and who, like the Cottians, were in all probability, and according to all accounts, genuine Ligurians. As such they were closely related to the Taurini, and no doubt bound to them by some kind of national compact. On first issuing from the borders of the friendly Allobroges, at the very entrance of those Alpine defiles, Hannibal seems to have been left by them, and to have immediately fallen in either with false friends or with determined foes.

Hannibal crossed the Rhone, either at Avignon or at Pont St. Esprit, for even that is matter of uncertainty; but on reaching the left bank, he did not move on straight to the Alps, but marched northwards, up as far at least as the confluence of the Rhone with the Isère, near Valence. We are indeed told that his movement up the Rhone was dictated by a desire to shun an encounter with the Romans under Scipio, whose advanced guards had already had a skirmish with the Africans near Avignon; but it is undoubted that, previous to any step on his part, Hannibal had ascertained his enemy's disposition not to molest him any further, and was indeed acquainted with the fact that Scipio had gone back to Marseilles, there to embark his troops for Italy. Ukert states*, with great

* Ukert, Zug des Hannibal, Geogr. der Griechen und Römer, iv. 586–594.

plausibility, that Hannibal marched up the Rhone, because he wished to avoid the fierce Ligurian population on his way across the Alps. Now the question is, how far would he have to go before he was safe from all opposition on the part of the Ligurians? since it is almost impossible to doubt that, all along the Maritime, Cottian, Graian, and Pennine Alps, the inhabitants belonged to the same Ligurian people. His guides on the Rhone, we know, were the messengers of the Cisalpine deputation; and it seems sufficiently clear, that Hannibal's original intention was to follow on the track which these guides would naturally point out,—the track which all or most Gallic invaders had gone over for centuries,—the track which lay beyond the last limits of the Ligurians,—that is, the track along the Valais, across some pass in the Simplon chain, and down into the Val d'Ossola.

It was most probably with the intention of following the course of the Rhone as far and beyond the Leman, that Hannibal marched up to Valence or Vienne; but a time came when he altered his mind,—when his new allies the Allobroges offered to aid him to the best of their ability. Upon their suggestion, it seems, he took the road nearest at hand, upon their assurance that this, however arduous, was not insuperable, but very considerably shorter; and that the Alpine people, however ill-disposed, were not invincible.

This proved indeed to be the case. Hannibal cut his way inch by inch through his mountain foes, and concluded his war on the Alps by an attack on the

Taurini, whose city he took after a siege of three days. Now, if he came down from any part of the Cottian Alps, from Monte Viso to Mont Cenis, the city of the Taurini certainly lay in his way; but if it could be proved, as many have confidently asserted, that he came down the Little St. Bernard or the Great St. Bernard, although this latter opinion can by nō strain of argument be entertained,—both roads, as Livy observed, would have led him through the country of the Salassi, down to the plains at Vercelli; and he must, in that case, have gone considerably out of his way, he must have waded through the marshy grounds of the Orco and Malone, rivers by nō means contemptible at that season of the year (the month of November), and all this at the time that the Boii and Insubrians were soliciting instant aid, at the time that Scipio, already on the Po and the Ticino, had paralysed the efforts of the Cisalpine enemies of Rome.

We are told by Polybius*, that Hannibal warred against the Taurini, because they were preparing to attack his Insubrian allies, and because they refused his proffered friendship. He would however hardly have lost the three days which the storming of their encampments cost him, had he not deemed them too formidable to be left unbroken in his rear,—an apprehension perfectly justifiable if his road led close to their walls, and if three days were sufficient to free him from anxiety; but hardly so, if he had to diverge from his road, which would have led him from Ivrea

* Polybius, iii. 60.

to Vercelli, when he already found himself nearly in the presence of his principal enemy, and within call of his Insubrian auxiliaries.

But if we start from the fact, that the city of the Taurini was then, as it is now, the Queen of the Alps, the main stronghold of all the Alpine people, the abode of a tribe at the head of a great confederacy of all the Ligurians both of Piedmont and the whole chain of the Western Alps*, then the chastisement of that city was a matter of necessity, if he found it in his path, and it was the result of a stroke of good policy, even if he had to march back upon it; since his natural desire to wreak vengeance on a people in whom he recognized the main instigators of that *levée de boucliers* of all the mountain-clans which had brought him within an inch of utter destruction, was perfectly reconcilable with the expediency of striking terror into his enemies, and of re-assuring his allies the Insubrians, whom the attitude of the Subalpine population had hitherto kept in check.

Hannibal came, saw, and conquered, on the Ticino and the Trebbia, and the din of war was removed to the south. The Cisalpines and Subalpines were left to themselves; but these latter had been too much astounded by the suddenness of Hannibal's apparition, too much depressed by his dire execution, and the former were too anxious about the ultimate result of the wars, to take any active part on either side†.

* Cibrario, Storia di Torino, i. 39.

† Niebuhr, Vorträge über Röm. Gesch. ii. 163.

Northern Italy thus remained a passive spectator of the great events: only the partisans of Rome sank deeper and deeper into despondency; and when, twelve years later, Hasdrubal was announced as following in his brother's footsteps, not only was there no thought of resistance, but some of the ancient enemies of Hannibal actually deemed it expedient to follow the fortune of the conqueror.

After the fall of Hannibal, the Cisalpine Gauls felt that between them and the Romans it was a matter of life and death: they prepared for a final struggle, which ended either by their final subjection or their extermination. In all these last hostilities of the Insubrians, Boii, etc. against Rome, the Taurini and their allies of Piedmont took no share; and indeed no mention of their names occurs, in all likelihood because they had made their peace with the Romans, and were bound to them by compacts which secured at least their nominal independence.

It is, in the meanwhile, a well-established fact, that the contemporaries of Hannibal did not deem a march across the Alps a practicable feat; which is tantamount to saying, that Piedmont was an all but inaccessible country, at least on the side of Gaul. We learn from Polybius* that Scipio felt confident, either that the Carthaginian would never entertain so mad a scheme, or that he would miserably perish in the attempt. The Romans themselves had not as yet dreamed of an achievement of that nature; and the same Scipio, who was so anxious to hasten to the protection of Italy, did

* Polybius, iii. 61.

not seek for himself a passage across the Maritime Alps, at the foot of which he was, but marched all the way back to Marseilles, whence he embarked for Genoa or Pisa, and hurried across the Apennines and the Po, in his turn to astonish Hannibal, who deemed so speedy a navigation little short of a miracle.

The messengers of the Boii or the Allobroges must indeed have entertained different opinions, or at least held a different language; but the former, probably as we have seen, pointed to that Simplon road, which was the military highway to their nation; and the latter, eager above all things for the advance of their mighty ally, were not very scrupulous as to the difference between the journey of a solitary foot-traveller or pedlar's mule, and an army's progress with horse and elephants: they smoothed down difficulties to urge him on, heedless of consequences, leaving him to extricate himself as he best could.

For the rest, Polybius himself, from whom we have these particulars, was ill acquainted with the Alps and the lines of communication across them. He explored those mountains—so far as he could venture, for the Alpine tribes were far from being tamed—about sixty years after Hannibal's expedition. (He was in Italy from 166 to 150; he travelled to Spain with Scipio about 134, and died 120, B.C.) He, we are assured by Strabo*, only knew of four roads across the Alps: a Ligurian road, close to the sea; another through the country of the Taurini, "where Hannibal had effected his passage;" and two more, across the

* Strabo, iv. 208.

country of the Salassi and Taurini; all of these were "steep and precipitous." The Romans indeed had neither military roads nor settlements on the Alps—with the single exception of their highway either alongshore or across the Maritime Alps—even several years after Polybius's time; at the epoch, that is, of the great outpouring of the Northern hordes, known in history as the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones (B.C. 113-101).

These terrible warriors, after ravaging Illyria, and threatening Italy from the east, turned abruptly into Noricum (perhaps because they did not feel themselves sufficiently strong, and wished to seek for auxiliaries in the north), and thence made their way into Helvetia and Gaul. Wherever they appeared, swarms of Alemanni, Helvetians, and other people eagerly thronged in their ranks. They came into collision with the Romans in Gaul, defeated them in several encounters; and, having at last overcome all resistance, they made ready to follow up their success by marching into Italy to the conquest of Rome. They were then on the Rhone, near the Lake of Geneva, and the Passes of the Salassians, the road Polybius had heard of, were near at hand. They consulted their prisoner, Scaurus, as to the best way across those mountains, and, as he gave them no satisfactory answer, but rather endeavoured to fill them with a superstitious awe of Roman omnipotence, they slew him in a fit of barbarous rage, but were not the less for the moment deterred from their enterprise.

They turned their fury against South-western Gaul and Spain; and by thus wasting three or four years in their work of wanton destruction, they allowed the Romans time to muster up new legions, and to place over them the only ruling genius which could give them efficiency.

Marius assumed the supreme command in Gaul; and the Northerners, once more concentrating their forces, returned to their great scheme of an onset upon Italy. Here again they seem to have laboured under uncertainty as to their further progress. They parted: one great division, the Cimbrians, with their allies of Helvetia, retraced their steps along the valley of the Rhone, under those very Salassian Passes, and either crossed at the Simplon, or else traversed Helvetia, and came into Italy down the valley of the Adige. The other host, of the Teutons and Ambrons, unable, as it clearly seems, to follow the track of Hannibal and his brother, wherever that might be, (not because Marius was in their way, as Niebuhr imagines*, for even by his account the Roman General had come up from Aix to Valence, perhaps with a view to oppose the barbarians, but had again fallen back upon Aix, probably driven by lack of provisions,)—unable, we repeat, to cross the Cottian or Graian Alps, the Teutons attempted to tread down the Romans of Marius, with the obvious intention of entering Italy by what Polybius called the Ligurian Way, which might be either along-shore or across the

* Niebuhr, Vorträge über Röm. Gesch., ii. 324-325.

Maritime Alps; as we know that the Romans had already, by this time, constructed one of their military roads,—either at the Col di Tenda, or at the Col d'Argentière,—which they called the Domitian highway*.

The issue is matter of well-known history. The fate of Rome was not yet mature, and the Northerners were annihilated. Marius crushed the Teutons at Aix, and travelled, or at least forwarded his army, probably over that same Ligurian or Domitian highway into Italy, in time to meet the Cimbrians on the Campi Raudii, near Vercelli (or Verona?) where a second great victory rid the land of their presence.

That the irruption of these Northern warriors into Italy was twice stayed by their vague dread of the Alps, seems indeed clear. "What saved Rome," says Niebuhr, "was that the Cimbrians and Teutons were shy of the Alps†;" and these were not, however, the men to be scared by mere rocks and snows; for we are told that the Cimbrians on the Adige (or the Tosa?) astonished the Romans of Catulus by sporting stark-naked on the ice, and sliding down the steepest crags and cliffs on their shields‡. But their wives and children, the tents and chariots and cattle they dragged along with them, rendered their march cumbrous and toilsome. An easy beaten track was necessary to them, and we must needs conclude, either that no such track existed,—at least between the Maritime

* Michelet, Histoire de France, liv. 1. ch. 1.

† Niebuhr, Vorträge, ii. 322. ‡ Plutarch, Marius, xxiii.

Alps guarded by the Romans of Marius, and the Lepontian Alps which had long since been in the power of the Gallic races; that no such track, that is, existed through any part of the Piedmontese mountains, and that the road through which Hannibal's elephants had passed less than a century before was already obliterated or rendered impassable from disuse (as indeed would be the case with our most splendid modern roads of the Simplon or the Splügen, did the Cantonniers only give up the care of them for three winters),—or else that these new invaders knew nothing of such a road, or dreaded, not the mountains, but the half-savage population that guarded them; that they had no means of associating them with their enterprise, as they had done with most tribes of Helvetia, that they could not pass as friends, and the example of Hannibal warned them against any attempt to force their way as enemies.

And yet, we again observe, most of the Helvetian tribes, the Tigurenes and Thughenes (people of Zurich and Zug), were marching with the Cimbrians and Teutons; with these also the Ambrons, who were in all probability a Ligurian tribe settled somewhere north of the Alps, since they had a war-cry to which the Ligurians in the Roman vanguard responded*. In short the whole population lying on the northern *versant* of the Alps was with them; and yet all these could advise no better route than either the long and circuitous one which led to the Maritime Alps, or the

* Plutarch, Marius xix.

still more crooked one which led to their own Lepontian, Rhætian, or Noric Alps.

Doubts indeed arise as to the precise spot at which the Cimbrians effected their passage; for some suppose that they came down from the Tridentine Alps, others that they crossed the Simplon, or some other path leading from the Valais into the Val d'Ossola; the Campi Raudii likewise, the vast plain on which the decisive battle was fought, are by some laid in the territory of Verona, by others in the vicinity of Vercelli. The whole difficulty hangs on the correct reading of the name Athesis (Adige), and Athison, or Atison (the Atosa or Tosa), down which the Barbarians descended*. At any rate, their path lay beyond all the confines of Piedmont, and even at that period, we must conclude, the invaders could find no way across that region.

Up to the Roman conquest, therefore, Piedmont was an uninvaded, unbroken country. At the time that Eastern Lombardy was a prey to the Etruscans, the Veneti, and to all wandering tribes that poured in from the East,—at the time that Greek colonies settled at will on any part of the southern coasts and islands, the Ligurian and other indigenous races of Piedmont made the best of their position against all foreign aggression. The Gaul touched them not; the Carthaginian broke through, but tarried not amongst them; the Cimbro-Teuton twice made the

* Durandi, Antica Condizione del Vercellese, pp. 108, 109.—Alpi Graie e Pennine, pp. 84–86.

round of their mountain circle, without finding its vulnerable point; and by the obstacles it threw in the invader's path, there is no doubt that Piedmont alone gave Rome time to recover from her all but decisive losses,—there is no doubt that, at this juncture, Piedment saved Italy and Rome.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN ÆRA.

THE issue of the Second Punic War had brought the whole of Northern Italy into the power of the Romans. The Gallic tribes of the Senones, Boii, Insubrians, etc. were crushed one by one; the Cenomani and other Cisalpine Gauls had purchased a precarious existence by a timely desertion of their national cause. The Transpadane Ligurians, Taurini, Libui, etc., had only once ventured upon hostilities with Rome; since the days of Hannibal they seem to have been her faithful allies. The Cispadane Ligurians, especially the Statielli (inhabitants of the valleys of the Bormida) were, like the Taurini, only dragged into hostilities with Rome against their own inclination, by the harshness and injustice of the Roman Consuls*. The Maritime Ligurians, on the other hand, evinced a more untamed spirit of independence, and withstood all the power of

* Livy, xlii. 7, 8.—Serra, Storia dell' Antica Liguria e di Genova, i. 55.

the conquerors for above eighty years (B.C. 230–150). They were, as Michelet observes*, "harder to find than to vanquish." They are unanimously described as a hardy, indomitable, indestructible race. A hundred times the Romans flattered themselves with having achieved their subjugation, but they invariably found they had been over-hasty in their self-gratulations. For the best part of a century they had to be hunted with fire and sword; they had to be so utterly disarmed, that the very spades and ploughshares were taken from them; they had to be carried captive into far-off countries,—forty thousand families of the Apuani from the valleys of the Magra into Samnium†, and the Ingauni from the shores of Albenga successively to thirty different domiciles‡.

West of the Alps, the Romans had waged a successful war against the Salyans and other Ligurians of the Maritime Alps, in behalf of the Grecian colonists of Marseilles. They had established their own province at Aix; they had opened a communication between Liguria Proper and Southern Gaul, either along-shore or by that road which took its name from the Proconsul Domitius (probably only repairing and improving that Phœnician road which Hercules was said to have originally laid out§),—some would suppose across the Col di Tenda, others, with more probability, over the Col d'Argentière, from the valley of the Stura into

* Michelet, Hist. de France, liv. 1. ch. 1.
† Livy, xl. 38, 41. ‡ Pliny, iii. 6.
§ Michelet, Hist. de France, liv. 1. ch. 1.

that of the Ubaye and the Durance*. They had defeated the Allobroges, the Arverni, and other mighty nations of Gaul, who had come forward to the rescue of the Salyans: their province in Gaul already extended over Provence and Lower Languedoc, when their arms met with a temporary check, from the terrific onset of the Cimbrians and Teutons, to which allusion has already been made. But by the very devastation of Gaul by those fierce Northmen the country was laid helpless before the feet of the conqueror; so that Cæsar had an easy task, when, three-and-forty years after the battle on the Campi Raudii, he came to reduce the whole country from the Alps and the Rhine to the Pyrenees and the sea.

But even after the Romans had either only subjects or faithful and submissive allies on both sides of the Western Alps, the population on those mountains held their ground in their impregnable fastnesses down to the very close of the Republic. It was only about 74 years B.C. that Pompey could boast, in his letter to the Senate†, that he had thrown open a new road across the Alps, more convenient to his countrymen on their way to Spain than the path through which the Carthaginians had toiled; and his rival, Cæsar, sixteen years later made his way through the same mountains in a march of seven days‡.

The extreme laconism of both these conquerors

* Le Alpi che cingono l'Italia, i. 525.—Durandi, Delle Antiche Città di Pedona, Caburra, etc., 70.—Antico Piemonte Traspadano, 41.

† Sallust, Fragm., ii.

‡ Cæsar, De Bell. Gall., i. 10.

leaves us still in doubt as to the precise spot through which their passage was effected. Cæsar indeed is both graphic and accurate as usual. After crossing all Northern Italy from Aquileia to Ocelum,—the last boundary, as he calls it, of the Roman province east of the Alps,—he fell in with wild tribes in possession of the higher crests, through whom he had to cut his way with the sword. These people, whom he names Centrones, Graioceli, and Caturiges, are by geographers placed respectively in the upper valleys of the Isère, the Arc, and the Durance; but their territory, like that of the Cottians, extended on both sides of the mountain-crest: the Graioceli occupied the valleys of Lanzo, no less than Maurienne; and the Caturiges, whose chief seat was at Embrun, in Upper Dauphiny, had perhaps some of their tribes established in the Waldensian valleys. Doubts exist as to the locality of that Ocelum, which was the limit of Roman Italy in Cæsar's time. There are perhaps half a score villages in the Alps to which that name may be etymologically referred. But as Cæsar, immediately on the western side of the Alps, came into the land of the Vocontii (in Lower Dauphiny), whence he travelled over to the Allobroges and Sequani (Savoy and Franche Comté), it seems very evident that he could only have crossed Mont Genèvre, and his Ocelum must needs be interpreted either by Exilles, or Oulx, or by Usseau. Our doubt is thus reduced simply to this, whether he came up to Mont Genèvre from the valley of the Dora Riparia by Susa, Exilles, Oulx, and Cesanne, or from

that of the Chiusone, passing Fenestrelles and Usseau. Mont Genèvre at any rate seems to have become the great highway of the Romans ever since that time. Pompey had in all probability followed no other track. We learn from sure sources* that he had attached the inhabitants of the Cottian Alps to Roman interests by extending to them the benefit of municipal laws. He boasted that "he had opened a road across the Alps more convenient to the Romans (*nobis opportunius*) than that followed by Hannibal." If this latter had indeed come across the Graian Alps (Little St. Bernard), it is very clear that any road more to the south would better have led the Romans from North Italy into Spain; but if the track of the Carthaginian was over Mont Genèvre, as seems to us most probable, Pompey's road could only have been either through the Pass of Monte Viso or that of Argentière, unless indeed it was through the Mont Genèvre itself. Monte Viso must be dismissed, in spite of St. Simon and Denina†, on account of its formidable height and steepness. Nor could Pompey have meant the Col d'Argentière, though Durandi thinks so‡, because that road most probably existed before his time, and also because it led perhaps too far south to be adopted for the greater convenience of those who travelled from Cisalpine Gaul into Spain. Pompey therefore crossed perhaps the

* Pliny, iii. 24.

† St. Simon, Histoire de la Guerre des Alpes, de 1744, preface. —Denina, Tableau de la Haute Italie, p. 358.

‡ Durandi, Antico Piemonte Traspadano, p. 41, note.

same Alpine summit of the Mont Genèvre; the only difference between himself and Hannibal being that the latter, after coming down that mountain as far as Cesanne, was compelled, by the hostility of the inhabitants, to strike up into a new mountain-pass and toil across the Col de Sestrières,—a route which led him from the valley of the Dora into that of the Chiusone; whilst Pompey, having propitiated the Cottian dwellers in the valley of Susa, was enabled to follow a direct and smooth road up the valley of the Dora, a road which he was fully entitled to represent as "more opportune" to the Romans than the one which they, always on the track of Hannibal, had hitherto followed.

When Cæsar came up, sixteen years later, he undoubtedly travelled from Aquileia to Milan and Turin, and hence both roads to the Mont Genèvre lay before him. He chose the "old" road,—that is, the one by Usseau, the one of Hannibal,—because the Cottians who had befriended Pompey either were disinclined to favour his expedition into Gaul, or would not declare for him, dreading the consequences of his enemies' resentment, had he been worsted in his undertaking. We know from Ammianus Marcellinus* that during these wars their chieftain, Donnus, the father of Cottius, or Cottius himself, hid himself in his mountains, observing a strict and sullen neutrality. The Centrones, Graioceli, and Caturiges, for aught we know, were only tribes of the same Cottian people, or their

* Ammian. Marcellin., xv. 10.

allies and kindred; but they either were not at that time under the sway of the same ruler, or took upon themselves to act in contradiction to his prudent policy. The Caturiges were more immediately on Cæsar's way, and nothing was more natural than they should stand up to oppose his progress. But the Centrones and Graioceli were separated from them by all the Cottian district, at least by the whole valley of Susa; and these could not have risen in arms against Cæsar unless the Cottians allowed, or were unable to prevent them. Uncivilized people are scarcely amenable to any consistent rational policy; they are fickle in alliance as well as enmity, and hardly to be bound to any compact. These three tribes merely obeyed a first brigand-like impulse; but not being seconded by their more wary neighbours, or countenanced by their chieftain, their movement was of little consequence, and Cæsar repulsed them after a few skirmishes.

These men of the first Triumvirate, at any rate, had no wish to engage in needless conflicts with the natives of the Alps. They had distant, far higher aims in view, and were glad to get through,—Pompey by a compromise, Cæsar by a running fight. Even after that epoch the Romans may be said to have crossed the Alps on sufferance. The Salassi of Val d'Aosta were the last to lay down their arms. They had already been partly subdued by the Consul Appius Claudius (B.C. 143*), who had however lost ten thousand of his troops in the contest. Even after Cæsar's death

* Livy, Epitom., liii.

they opposed Decimus Brutus, who came into their country a fugitive, after the war of Modena, and exacted from him a toll of a drachm for every one of his men, ere they would allow him to make good his escape. Messala, who spent a winter in their neighbourhood, had to pay for the wood he burnt, and for the saplings with which the Roman youth constructed their bows and other weapons for gymnastic exercises. They were insolent enough to plunder a military chest in the times either of Cæsar or Augustus himself*. Under pretence of repairing the roads, they perched themselves upon the highest cliffs, and dropped large rocks on the devoted heads of the Roman soldiery as they toiled up those narrow defiles.

This state of things was only brought to an end under Augustus, when a regular war was waged against the Alps from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic. Tiberius and Drusus penetrated into the innermost recesses of the mountains on both sides, and the subjugation of all the tribes was so thorough as to allow them no chance of future revolt. Of the Salassi themselves (no less than 36,000 souls, amongst them 8000 combatants,) nearly the whole number was sold as slaves in the market-place of Ivrea, a town which had not long before been built to put a check on their incursions.

Thus were the men of the Alps still in arms against the Romans, when already Gaul and Spain, Britain, and all the world round the Mediterranean shores, had

* Strabo, iv. 205.

bowed the neck to their yoke*. The trophy erected in commemoration of that final success,—not perhaps at Aosta, as Guichenon† with Simler and others imagined, but at Turbia (Trophæa Augusti), at the very point where the last brow of the Maritime Alps towers over the sea‡, above Monaco,—bore the names of the vanquished tribes. The twelve cities of the Cottians, says Pliny§, who reports the inscription on that trophy, are omitted in this enumeration, because they stood fast to their allegiance, on the terms of the Pompeian law. Cæsar's enemies, the Centrones, Graioceli, and Caturiges, are also not mentioned, unless their names are strangely misspelt, because they too had by this time made peace with the Romans. The Caturiges and others, whose names occur in the enumeration of the friendly Cottians, such as the Medulli, etc., figure also among the last tribes subdued by the Romans, in the inscription at Turbia; a contradiction plausibly explained by Durandi‖, by supposing that these were not originally subjects of King Donnus, in Pompey's time, but were added to the territory of his son Cottius, after their subjugation by Augustus.

The Cottians continued under the rule of their chief,

* Balbo, Storia d' Italia, 35.

† Guichenon, Histoire Généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie, 2nd edit. i. 24.

‡ Gioffredo, Alpi Marittime, Monum. Hist. Patriæ, ii. 150.

§ Pliny, iii. 24.

‖ Durandi, Piemonte Cispadano Antico, p. 25; Antico Piemonte Traspadano, p. 38.

Cottius, who styled himself the son of King Donnus, but who nevertheless only assumed the more modest title of Præfect himself, thus acknowledging the Roman supremacy. However doubtful the conduct of his father might have been, it seems indeed that Cottius had, after the battle of Actium, laid aside all mistrust, and sued for the friendship of the fortunate conqueror. He came down from his mountain-fastness to Susa, his little metropolis, and there erected a triumphal arch in honour of Augustus. He also greatly improved the road which ran across his dominions, from the valley of Susa up to Mont Genèvre (Pompey's road, according to our hypothesis), a road which since his times obtained a preference over the other one across the Col de Sestrières (the route of Hannibal). Ammianus Marcellinus, from whom these particulars have been handed down to us*, describes that road as excessively arduous and even dangerous in his times, that is, three centuries later. The State of this Cottius lay between Monte Viso and Mont Cenis, and on both sides the crest between Susa and Embrun. It was only after this time that the name of Cottian was given both to these Alps, which had hitherto been called Alpes Taurinæ, and to their inhabitants. The Cottian territory was repeatedly extended in later times, and, some writers think†, even included the city of Turin. Cottius's sceptre descended to his son, or grandson, named like him M.

* Ammian. Marcellin., xv. 10.

† Cibrario, Storia di Torino, i. 47.

Julius Cottius, who again bore the title of King under Claudius, and whose State at that time received further increase. With him this first race of Piedmontese monarchs appears to have become extinct, inasmuch as at his death Nero* put an end to the separate existence of the Cottian territory, and annexed it to the province of the Maritime Alps, with Embrun for its capital.

From the time of Augustus's conquest the Alpine races, like the rest of the Ligurians of Piedmont and Genoa, merged into the great system of Roman civilization. Cities, such as Aosta and Ivrea, in the country of the Salassi; Turin, capital of the Taurini; Novara and Vercelli, in the lands of the Libui; Augusta Vagiennorum (now Bene); Alba, Asti, Aquæ Statiellæ (Acqui), Tortona, Voghera, etc., in Cispadane Liguria; and Genoa, Savona, etc., in Maritime Liguria, were either newly founded or renewed on the spots where the camps or straggling villages of the wild native tribes had stood; and their names, with slight change, as of Dertona into Tortona, of Vicus Iriæ into Voghera, etc., have been perpetuated to our own days.

This process of things did not however hinder some of the most ungovernable races from falling back into more savage and inhospitable retreats, where, unknown or unheeded, they might continue in the enjoyment of their wild independence.

As they came last into the power of the Romans, it may be supposed that the people of Piedmont and

* Suetonius, Nero, xviii.

Liguria held out for the greatest length of time against Roman corruption. The nature itself of that Ligurian people rendered moral subjugation even more difficult than military conquest. They stand forth before us as the very hardiest men in the ancient world. There were proverbs to the effect that "the leanest Ligurian was more than a match for the stoutest Gaul,"—that "their women were men in strength, their men had the strength of wild beasts*." The women shared the hardest toils of men, both in the fields,—or rather rocks, for the sturdy inhabitants of the Riviera had at all times to turn stones into bread,—and in the mines, where they displayed that singular hardihood, which the traveller, visiting the slate-quarries of Lavagna, near Chiavari, may witness at the present day, as he meets young girls walking nimbly with slabs on their heads that would weigh down the shoulders of many a man,—that more than natural hardihood which made the good Greek Posidonius† wonder by what privilege the Ligurian women were exempt from the very throes of maternity.

The accurate descriptions we have of these people in the works of the Greeks and Romans represent them as not nomadic by nature. Herdsmen, rather than huntsmen, from the beginning, their migrations seem to have been the consequence of the wars that men or the elements waged against them. Native instinct, or contact with more civilized neighbours, made them husbandmen, and taught them to congregate in

* Diodor. Sicul., v. 39. † Strabo, iii. 165.

towns and villages, which they sometimes fortified. The greatest of their strongholds, however, the city of the Taurini, could not hold out against the regular army of Hannibal for more than three days. Their home was, almost invariably, in the mountains; and it seems even probable that their name, Ligurian ("Gor," elevated, in the Basque languages, according to W. von Humboldt), like that of the Taurini ("Taur," or "Thor," a mountain-top, or cliff, in all Celtic languages), was only an epithet applied to all mountain-races, irrespective of blood or descent. The plains of Vercelli and Novara were in early times uninhabited marshes. In the upper plains of the Po, between Saluzzo, Cuneo, Mondovì, Moncalieri, hardly any names of towns occur in ancient maps. The cities of Cispadane Liguria, from Alba and Asti to Tortona and Voghera, all lie immediately at the foot of the hills, and in most instances there is evidence of their having been removed from the steepest heights to the lower slopes. As to Turin itself, Vercelli, Novara, and Pavia, to which a Ligurian foundation has been confidently attributed*, even if their primitive site could be correctly identified, might be proved to have risen, either under Etruscan influence, or only at a time when the native inhabitants had learned from Roman colonists to turn their energies to the improvement of the marshy soil of their level lands.

The Ligurians, like the Gauls, joined in confederacies; but they were never able to form a compact

* Pliny, iii. 21.

community, as some of the races of Southern Italy had done: The Græco-Latin genius of the city was not with them: they were mere mountain-clans, and, as such, a collision with the men of the city, anywhere but in their own mountains, almost always proved fatal to them in the end. In the same manner, their husbandry was rather the work of the spade and pickaxe than of the plough: they could make the rocks of the Alps and the Apennines smile with their gardens, but were not equal to the aggregate effort that the drainage of vast swampy flats required.

In all but political organization and social compact, however, they evinced a power of mind commensurate with their physical strength. They were so skilled in the art of war, that the Romans did not disdain to adopt a shield of their invention. The Ligurians of the coast took to the sea as their native element, and ruled over it previous to the Phœnician and Carthaginian æra. Their martial prowess was the theme of song at Athens in the days of Æschylus*; and the Books of Moses, in the earliest Greek version, seem to bear witness to their trading enterprise†. For a long time they contended on the high seas both with Etruscans and Massilians: successfully with the former; but the superior skill of the latter must have prevailed in the end, since they were able to found Nicæa (Nice) and Portus Herculis Monœci (Monaco) on Ligurian shores.

* Strabo, iv. 183.

† Exodus, xxviii. 19.

Similar to these Maritime Ligurians were the Vagienni and Statielli, and other grizzly races of the territories of Saluzzo and Montferrat, those of Tortona and Voghera, and those on the Alps, some of whom the Romans designated under the names of "Montani," from their abodes, and "Capillati," from the custom prevalent over all the higher regions, of wearing the hair shaggy and unshorn to their shoulders. But even wilder and fiercer were the Centrones and Salassi, who, like all savage men, united craft and cunning with their ferocity, and at first took nothing from their civilized neighbours but their prominent vices—falsehood and avarice.

From the epoch of their final submission, to the fall of the Roman Empire, these men of the Alps and Apennines underwent as much of the work of Roman assimilation and humanization, as their remote locality and their proud spirit of independence allowed. By the laws of Augustus and his immediate successors, they were all Roman citizens. To what extent, however, they adopted the manners, feelings, and character of Roman people, might be a different question. The Roman toga fitted them perhaps as awkwardly as the long-tailed coat became the Bedouin of Algeria, to whom the decrees of a liberal republican government had till lately extended the rights and privileges of French citizenship.

Those Alpine tribes which could not have been forced, were gradually weaned, from their native homes. Roman no less than Etruscan life was es-

sentially city-life. As far as the Roman power extended, especially after the close of the Commonwealth, the freeman invariably abandoned all agricultural employment to the slave. The provincial towns were crowded, at the expense of the rural population, and were in turn drained by constant affluence to the metropolis. The luxury, effeminacy, utter corruption, which everywhere kept pace with that hollow and apparent Roman prosperity, at a very early period made its way into Cisalpine Gaul, and hence also doubtless into Liguria and Subalpine Italy. That beautiful soil of Piedmont, on either side of the Po, wherever it is not barren rock and impervious crag, is and ever was one of the richest in the world. It was unfortunately just the kind of ground where the opulent Roman Patrician would choose to make his large purchases, and establish those enormous estates, those *latifundia*, which were already a grievance in the days of Cato the Elder, and to which Pliny* ascribed the ruin of the country; as they broke the sinews of the Italian population, by buying up all the small land-owners, and driving all free labourers from their homes.

The most rugged districts of Maritime Liguria and the higher slopes of the mountains, however, could ill reward slave labour, and may indeed have offered but little attraction to these all-absorbing landlords. There it may be presumed, therefore, the mountaineer was

* Pliny, xviii.—Vesme e Fossati, Vicende delle Proprietà in Italia, p. 29.

suffered to till his own niggardly ground with that same pertinacity which made him, as late as the age of Pliny himself, still adhere to his long squalid locks, and won him the appellation of "hairy Ligurian." In all likelihood, however, he too dropped his spade in the end. The temptation of the city, which offered him an easy, safe, idle, pleasurable existence, must have proved too strong for him: the city was unfortunately everywhere within his reach, in very sight of the man of the hills. Together with the whole population of the Empire, though at a later period, the Alpine nations no doubt became thinner and thinner, till, in the end, and especially on the southern ridges, a few towns and villages, the stations and garrisons of the well-trodden high-roads, must have been nearly all that presented any trace of habitation on the Alps. The mountaineer is either a savage, or he is nought. At a very recent period we have seen to what extent the advance of civilization, and the spread of well-being in Scotland, has tended to the depopulation of the Highlands.

The very roads across the Alps suffered from this general decline of the country, and in the days of Constantine the whole of Piedmont and Savoy bore a look of desolation and misery; even the road that Cottius constructed, had, by the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, become even less practicable than Hannibal and Pompey found it*, probably because the Romans bestowed their attention rather on

* Denina, Storia dell' Italia Occidentale, i. 50.

the Passes of the Graian, the Pennine, or the Maritime Alps.

It is from that very epoch that the Italians, too eminently a gregarious, urban people, contracted that horror for a wholesome country life, which, we confess with regret, still distinguishes them at the present time; and which, if it perhaps contributed to raise them in the scale of polished beings, if it made them artists and stage-players *par excellence*, was also undoubtedly injurious to their moral character, by taking away much of that earnest, hallowed feeling of self-dependence, much of that freshness and originality, which man derives from his closer intercourse with nature. Nothing can wean the Italian from his artificial life of the town: rural is with him synonymous with rustic; he admits of no social progress except such as is going on in the noisome streets of a capital. Hence the insurmountable barrier in Italy between the citizen and the peasant who toils for his bread,—which leaves the latter utterly destitute of civilization, while the civilization of the former is always premature and unsubstantial, always tainted with effeminacy and corruption. Residence in the country is for the descendant of the Roman the greatest of hardships. Even where nature displays its greatest and loftiest beauties,—even among those everlasting hills which God reared up, not only to screen the Italian from foreign insult, but also to aid him to lift up his thoughts to Heaven,—even on the Alps, he seems, on an equality of mental cultivation, to be less powerfully,

less pleasingly affected, than his graver and more reverent Teutonic neighbour. The Piedmontese and the Savoyard are utterly destitute of that proud enthusiasm which makes the Swiss and Tyrolese wild in their patriotism. In the presence of strangers entranced with wonder, the boor of the western Alps gazes on his sublime home with stolid apathy, or only thinks of the hardships and terrors, of the wintry inclemency, of the snow-drifts and hurricanes, of the *tas de neige* and *tourmente*, which war against him for six or eight months in the year. Even the polished Turinese never gazes around him, never seems aware of the glorious panorama which stretches all round about his Piazza d'Armi, so much more magnificent than the much-admired view of the Oberland from the Terrace at Berne. Some of the adhesiveness which attaches the very brute to his den may at times harbour in the heart of the Italian mountaineer, for his thin native air seems essential to his lungs. The Waldenses, for instance, and the people of Val Sesia, value a few acres of thin pasture or meadow land on their hill-sides far higher than the richest fields in the plain: still all the grandeur and majesty that environ him seem in no manner to affect the Piedmontese; the voice of his Maker, calling out to him from the very roar of those sublime solitudes, arouses no holy thoughts in his bosom.

Independently of the general causes of depopulation, acting with equal rapidity all over the Roman world, the Alps—the Italian Alps at least—must have suffered

from this sad irreligion of the people towards them; and it is possible, on the other hand, that, in the same measure as these gave up their native fastnesses, and repaired to the cities of the plain, other races from the poorer districts of Gaul, Helvetia, and Germany, took possession of the forsaken dwellings, either of their own accord, or, more probably, driven to them for shelter against the great storms that were already setting in from the north.

It was therefore, we should think, rather seduction than force, that drove the native Italian from the great bulwark which Providence had placed between him and his uneasy neighbours. It was most probably in those palmy days of the Julian and Flavian Emperors, during the first and second centuries of the Christian æra, when the Roman felt too sure of the eternity of his destinies, and of the irremovableness of his new Termini on the Rhine and the Danube, that the natural frontier of those arduous Alpine gorges was given up by the soft southerner, from sheer lack of hardihood to inhabit them. Then it was that a gradual intrusion, a silent, imperceptible creeping in of non-Italian people on the Italian side of the Alps took place,—an intrusion, the consequences of which are still apparent in the Gallic and Teutonic dialects spoken on our southern slopes, south of the Passes of St. Gothard, Splügen, and Tyrol, as well as in Val Sesia, Val d'Ossola, and Val d'Aosta. The real mountain-crest is hardly anywhere, as it was designed by nature, the line of demarcation between the different races: the

Swiss everywhere press down upon us into the heart of our valleys; German villages in Val Gressoney, Val Sesia, Val Anzasca, strike the traveller as a strange phenomenon at every step; and the Adige, from time immemorial, has hidden its sources among Teutonic races, too easy a highway for all the northern spoilers of Italy.

It was thus, indeed, that Roman Italy prepared her own fate. When the day of disenchantment came, when Rome lay writhing in Germany and Gaul, and the defence of the Empire was reduced to the natural limits of the ruling nation, the northerners could well exultingly cry out "that there were no longer any Alps." There were, that is, no descendants of those fierce Cottians, Centrones, and Salassians, who had so manfully barred the passage of their mountains against Cimbrians and Teutons, and had made it all but fatal to Hannibal himself.

The diademed helmet of Italy was not so much battered in, as it was loosened and laid aside in a moment of treacherous security; but the wound inflicted was no less fatal, and the defence thus heedlessly thrown aside had no less lost all efficiency in after-ages.

Yet, be it observed, the stock of those fierce guardians of the Alps had not vanished utterly. They had only stepped down to more genial abodes, the mildness of whose climate, the fruitfulness of whose soil, and the luxurious habits which all these circumstances were calculated to engender, did not, for a long lapse

of years—does not even at the present day—efface all traces of their sturdy manliness of old.

In Piedmont and Liguria the population throughout—

"Tiene ancor del monte e del macigno*."

There is a certain soberness, an earnestness and gravity, a more than Italian vitality in that Subalpine people, displayed, as we shall see, at every stage of their history, which, added to the peculiar circumstances of government, has tended to set them apart from their brethren of the east and south. Up to a very late period those foreign nations who delighted in our divisions, and profited by them, too hastily declared that "the Piedmontese were not Italians;" and Lombards, Tuscans, and Romans were too ready to take up that assertion, unaware that, if it had any meaning, it only conveyed the impression that the Subalpine people were the least corrupt, the least frivolous in Italy. So far as mere ethnology can prove anything, they are at any rate one of the most genuine of native races,—the very one, perhaps, as we may conclude from the foregoing researches, that passed more unbroken and unmixed through all the historical phases of antiquity. Piedmont, in its present extent, passed almost in one body into the hands of the Romans, having suffered the least possible modifications during the various vicissitudes of Etruscan encroachment and Gallic inroad.

* "Still smack of their rough mountain-flint."
Dante, Cary's Transl.

From the time that these people of Western Italy were absorbed into the great vortex of Roman life, their local history not only loses all interest, but becomes altogether a blank. For long periods, in the three centuries of the Empire from Augustus to Constantine, the Subalpine and Ligurian provinces are but seldom mentioned, even by name. The patriotism of a Piedmontese may hardly be flattered by the chance which raised the well-meaning but short-reigning Helvius Pertinax to the Imperial purple, at a time when that purple was put up to auction by an insolent soldiery, and was almost invariably laid on the shoulders of a new candidate fresh-dyed with the blood of the last wearer. Helvius Pertinax, the son of a timber, brick, or charcoal merchant near Alba, who rose from rank to rank in the militia, and whose virtues were his most grievous offence, was rendered obnoxious to his guards by the strictness of his discipline, and barbarously put to death by them (A.D. 193).

Nor does the march of Constantine across the Alps, on his way to the conquest of Rome, nor the storming of Susa, nor the great battle in which he defeated the lieutenants of Maxentius before the walls of Turin, belong, except incidentally, to the history of this particular district; nor is it possible to attach any great importance to the tradition that supposes the vision of the Labarum, which determined the conversion of that Emperor, and the consequent triumph of Christianity

all over the world, to have taken place on his journey across the Alps*.

It is only when, together with the rest of Europe, Piedmont emerges from the ruins of the Roman Empire that its separate destinies claim our attention. By that time the great religious revolution which had overthrown the Roman idols, had been accomplished in Western Italy no less than in all other Roman provinces. For the Pennine God which the ancient Celtic races had raised on every summit, on every mountain-pass, and for the Latin Jupiter which had usurped its place during the earliest Roman period, new objects of worship were now substituted by the pious highlander, who could not suffer his Alpine solitudes to be reft of the presence of familiar deities. The legend of Mauritius, and of his Thebæan Legion, 6600 men strong, again and again decimated, and at last utterly destroyed, by Maximian, at Agaune (now St. Maurice, in the Valais) in the year 302, on account of the staunch adherence of those brave warriors to the true faith which they had brought with them from Upper Egypt, peopled every grove in the Valais, every romantic spot in the whole western chain of the Alps, with shrines dedicated to the memory of the martyrs. The names of Maurice and some of his supposed followers and fellow-sufferers were for a long time associated with all that was brilliant and holy in the chivalrous records of Burgundian and Sabaudian Royalty.

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. xx.

Three of Maurice's companions, fugitives from the massacres at Agaune, St. Solutor, St. Adventor, and St. Octavius, suffered at Turin towards the year 306. Solutor indeed is supposed to have fallen at Ivrea, but his body was conveyed to Turin by a pious matron, St. Juliana, who erected to his memory and to that of the two other martyrs a sepulchral monument, which became the object of a particular worship in that city*.

Even at an earlier period however Christianity had penetrated, and the blood of martyrs had sprinkled, the Subalpine and Ligurian lands.

Most of the Piedmontese churches fondly trace their origin to the Apostle Barnabas; a disciple, as tradition asserts, of the Saviour himself, one of the "Seventy," a fellow-labourer of Paul and Mark, deputed by Peter to Cisalpine Gaul, where he founded the diocese of Milan toward the year 40.

This diocese or arch-diocese of Milan, during a great part of the Middle Ages, extended over the whole of Western Italy, was governed upon independent principles, and oftentimes in direct opposition to Rome itself, which it rivalled in importance. From Barnabas himself, or from some of his disciples,—especially Nazarius and Celsus,—all Piedmont and Liguria boast of having received the earliest Gospel seeds. Some of their dioceses are indeed of great antiquity. Derthona, or Tortona, can trace the order of her bishops

* Pingon, Augusta Taurinorum, p. 8.—Meyranesii Pedemontium Sacrum, p. 4.

to St. Martianus, the Martyr, who was ordained towards the year 75*. Genoa and Cimela, or Nice, belong to the third century. St. Victor, the first bishop of Turin, was consecrated in 310. Asti dates its earliest pastors from 265; Alba and Acqui from the beginning of the fourth century. Previous to the conversion of Constantine, however, the annals of Christianity are only a tissue of calamitous records. Long before the saints of the Thebæan region bore witness in Valais and Piedmont, St. Dalmatius, a native of Mayence, after evangelizing the ancient cities of Auriate and Pedona, in Val di Stura, was, in 254, put to death in the latter city, on the spot where an abbey was afterwards erected to his memory, at Borgo di San Dalmazzo, near the site of Cuneo. Evasius, the first Bishop of Asti, elected towards 265, was driven from his see, and perished by the hands of idolaters, (it is not certain whether under Gallienus or Diocletian†, 268–303,) on the ground where Casale di Sant' Evasio, the capital of Montferrat, was to rise in after-times. Even after the conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan (March, 313), by which he secured peace to the Church throughout the world, St. Eusebius, the first bishop of Vercelli, was stoned to death by the Arians, already in that time a formidable sect in Northern Italy, in 371. His disciple, St. Gaudentius, the first of Novarese bishops, in 397, died a natural death in 417.

These early apostles of Piedmont, whose lives are

* Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iv. 624. † Ibid. iv. 335.

thus interwoven with the history of the country, continued for a long time, and are still in most instances, the patron saints of the different provinces which they illustrated by their deeds or sufferings :—St. Dalmazzo, of Saluzzo; St. Evasio, of Montferrat; St. Secondo, of Asti; St. Eusebio and Gaudenzio, respectively, of Vercelli and Novara.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DARK AGES.

FROM the fall of the Róman Empire of the West, in 476, to the year 1000, chaos deepened over the face of the earth. Emerging from it, soon after the latter epoch (1032–1091), together with most of the present European communities, we find the elements of the monarchy of Sardinia in Savoy and Piedmont.

The northern invasions, which laid desolate all the provinces of the Empire, to the almost utter extinction of ancient civilization, did not fail in the end to reach the Subalpine and Ligurian lands; but these, by the natural strength of their position, might be expected to be, and were in fact, spared the horrors of the first onset. The barbarians entered Italy from that same eastern side whence the blighting storm-winds set in upon the land. Piedmont and Liguria lay not in the path of Alaric the Goth (A.D. 402), of Radagasius and his motley hordes (406), of Attila the Hun (452), or Genseric the Vandal (455), when these "scourges of God" swept over Italy in such a fearfully rapid suc-

cession. Alaric indeed advanced into western lands as far as Asti, where he laid siege to the vain and craven Emperor Honorius; but it was here that he met with a first check at Pollentia (now Pollenzo, on the left bank of the Tanaro, a few miles above Alba), on the 29th of March, 403, whence his conqueror, Stilicho, pursued him to Verona, and thence again, for this time, drove him out of the country: and Attila, who stood as a destroyer before Verona, Milan, and Pavia, was reported to have extended his ravages as far as Turin, but the fact rests on no positive evidence*. The first barbaric feet that really trod these Piedmontese regions throughout were those of Ataulph, the successor of Alaric, in 412; but he and his host only passed as friends, by virtue of an agreement, on their way to distant conquests.

But when the mere rage of destruction abated, and the weary conquerors, resting on the ruins they had made, aspired to build new edifices of their own, these countries followed the destinies of the rest of Italy, and formed part of the new state founded by Odoacer, called King of the Heruli (A. D. 476–493); and after him, with better auspices, by Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths (489–526).

This latter especially, not only established his sway over all Italy as far as the Alps, but by his victories over the Franks and Burgundians,—who, profiting by the disorders of the early years of his reign (491–494), had ravaged all Lombardy, taken Turin, and

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xxxv.

carried multitudes into captivity,—added the cities of the Rhone and Provence to his dominions, which extended at last from the Garonne to the Danube and the Theiss, and thus laid the basis for the revival of the Empire.

After the death of this great and good ruler, the Gothic dominion in Italy continued up to the year 552; it was then put an end to by the Greeks of the Eastern Empire, under Belisarius and Narses, after a severe struggle, in which the Gothic nation, that under Theodoric had probably amounted to one million of souls, was nearly extinguished.

The Grecian rule had hardly been re-established (553–567), when a new host, that of the Langobardi, or Lombards, under Alboin, made a descent upon the country, and founded a dominion, which lasted above two centuries (568–774).

On the other side of the Alps, Gaul had also been overwhelmed by a general irruption of all the northern races across the Rhine, in 406; but it had been, at an earlier epoch than Italy, permanently occupied by two of these nations,—the Visigoths, who founded a kingdom in the south-western division of the country, and the Burgundians, who at first settled on the left bank of the Rhine, but successively came down to the countries of the Jura, the Alps, and the Rhone (410–443).

Soon however a new race, or rather a confederacy of races,—that of the Franks,—after rapid advances in the north of Gaul, and the final extinction of the

last vestiges of Roman power there, began to press on the frontiers of both those new kingdoms; and, either under Clovis (481–511) or his immediate successors (511–569), put an end to the independent existence of those States, and reduced them to mere dependencies on their great monarchy, under the names of Aquitaine and Burgundy. The Burgundian dynasty thus became extinct by violence, about one century after its foundation, in 534.

In this manner, almost at the foundation of their respective States, the Franks and Lombards were brought into contact at the Alps, and contact in those times, as a matter of course, led to collision.

Already the Franks, taking advantage of the wars which the Goths of Italy had to sustain against the Greeks, had not only snatched Provence from them, but first, under Theudebert of Austrasia, one of the ablest princes of the House of Clovis, then led by adventurers without rank and almost without name (Leutharis and Buccellinus), they had overrun all Italy (536–553), exercising cruelties for which their wicked race won so sinister a reputation even amongst barbarians. They had turned indiscriminately against friends and foes; they had inflicted such dire calamities on the land, that they themselves perished almost to a man of the distress, the famine, and plague which their own blind rage had created*.

All these horrors were to be renewed at the Lom-

* Procop. De Bello Gothico, ii. 25.—Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptor., i. 295.

bard conquest. The Lombards, who were not numerous enough to accomplish the conquest of all Italy, were sufficiently rash in their first onset to carry the war into Provençal and Burgundian lands: aided by twenty thousand Saxons, their followers and auxiliaries, they ravaged Valais, and destroyed the famous monastery of St. Maurice d'Agaune, the seat of Burgundian royalty; but were repulsed again and again, owing chiefly to the valour of Ennius Mummolus, a Gaul or Roman by birth, raised by the Merovingian king, Gontran of Burgundy, to the rank of Præfect or Patrician. The Franks were now provoked to retaliation, and the war between the two nations continued with rare interruption during the period of disorder in the realm of Lombardy, when, by the tragic fate of the first king, Alboin, and the short reign of his successor, Clefi, the country was thrown into anarchy, and the supreme power shared among thirty dukes (573–588). At the end of that interregnum the Franks and Germans were either bought or beaten back by Autharis, when he at last secured the votes of the discordant dukes, and gave his nation strength by union (584–590).

It was especially during these senseless, aimless expeditions, renewed year after year, that the Franks, whose ephemeral successes were invariably attended by terrific reverses, gave rise to that ominous saying, so often applied since to their descendants, that "the land of Italy was fated to be the tomb of their nation.*"

* Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, canto xxxiii.

These Frankish invasions however, in which vast hosts of Germans took part, and which were generally directed by those of the Merovingian princes who ruled in Austrasia, took place through the Rhætian Alps, and were perhaps less fatal to Piedmont and Liguria than to Eastern Lombardy and Tuscany. We know however that Theudebert of Austrasia, on his retreat in 539, sacked and burnt Genoa, and laid waste the whole of its maritime district.

From the time of Autharis, however, the Franks and their long-haired rulers of the first race were too busied in tearing each other to pieces, too deeply engaged in their startling domestic tragedies, to have leisure for foreign conquests. The Lombards had not only ceased to have aught to fear from them, but beat them whenever they attempted to interfere in their domestic dissensions (as in 665, near Asti, where Grimoald destroyed an army of Clotaire II., King of Paris and Burgundy); they entered into frequent alliances with them, and were even able to lend them aid, especially at the time of the invasion of the Saracens of Spain, when Charles Martel, busy with the Saxons and Frieslanders in the north, and needing the succour of the Lombard king, Liutprand, in the south, asked and obtained it (A. D. 739)*.

But by this time a new race of rulers in France had snatched the sceptre from the hands of the worn-

* Paul. Warnefrid. Gest. Langobardorum, vi. 54.—Rerum Italicar. Script., i. 508.

out Merovingians. Charles Martel, his son Pepin, and his grandson Charlemagne, all meditated, and the last achieved, the conquest of Italy. The Church afforded a pretext. The Carlovingian princes were all distinguished by that loose expedient piety which, since the conversion of Clovis, had won the Frankish nation the proud name of "Eldest Daughter of the Church," and covered that multitude of sins by which both the people and its rulers so far exceeded all the tribes of mankind. Charles Martel was indeed anything but a priest-ridden zealot. Pressed by the necessities of his multitudinous wars, he had laid sacrilegious hands on church property, a crime for which ecclesiastical writers bore witness to his eternal perdition; but both himself and his successors well knew how to turn the Church's distress to their own advantage. The Lombards in Italy were by this time equal to the subjugation of the whole peninsula: a nation and a country were at last to rise under their auspices: no obstacle was to be met, except in the jealousy and incipient ambition of the Roman Pontiffs. In behalf of these Charles Martel himself before his death (739), Pepin in 754 and 755, and at last Charlemagne in 773, put forth all the might of their monarchy. The two last again and again crossed the Alps to the Pontiff's deliverance; and, after bestowing upon the Church those patrimonies which became the basis of its temporal dominions, they secured for themselves the best part of the Lombard inheritance, and nearly the whole of Italy became at last a member of that

Empire to which Charlemagne subjected the western world (A.D. 768–814).

The empire of Charlemagne, built up at a period in which the ruling nation of the Franks was hurrying to its dissolution, could hardly hold together for two generations. Together with its other provinces, South-eastern Gaul and North Italy—Burgundy and Lombardy—passed into the hands now of one, now of another of his sons and grandsons, till at the deposition and death of the last emperor of his race, Charles the Fat, in 888, these countries had already fallen, or were ready to fall, into the hands of powerful princes, connected or not with the Imperial family, who erected them into separate kingdoms.

In Italy this separation only led to civil wars, far more fatal to the cause of humanity than even the barbaric incursions. These in the end brought the Italian lords and prelates under the sway of Otho I. of Saxony (A.D. 961), who restored the Empire of Charlemagne to nearly all its lustre, and established over Italy those claims which, after the extinction of his own immediate line in 1002, descended, though not without great contention, to Henry II., called the Saint or the Lame (1004–1022), and to Conrad II. the Salic (1024–1039).

In Burgundy two or three separate states rose up at different periods: Provence, or Cisjurane Burgundy, which comprised the territories included between the Saône, the Rhône, the Alps, the Jura, and the Mediterranean; and Helvetia or Transjurane Burgundy,

including the countries between the Jura, the Pennine Alps, and the Reuss,—that is, part of Switzerland, the Valais, the country of Geneva, Chablais, and Bugey.

The crown of Provence was given to Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bold, a man of some ability, who had previously governed Lombardy as well as southern France, and who, with the favour of Pope John VIII., had aspired to reign over both countries*. He was proclaimed a king by a diet of bishops and lords, held at the castle of Mantaille, on the Rhone, near Vienne, on the 15th of October, 879.

In Helvetia Rudolph, by some called Welf, and thought to be son of Conrad, Count of Paris, distantly related to the House of Charlemagne, crowned himself king of the countries which he had hitherto governed in the name of the Emperors, at the Abbey of St. Maurice d'Agaune, in Valais, in 888. The confines of the two kingdoms were never distinctly traced, nor was their very appellation properly defined at the time. Both the successors of Boson and of Rudolf were mixed up in the endless wars which now distracted Italy, and both aspired, not unsuccessfully, to the crown of Italy and the Empire. The consequence of these vicissitudes was the union of the two kingdoms into one state, in 933, under Rudolph II., son of Rudolph Welf; a state which was sometimes designated by the title of the "Second Kingdom of Bur-

* De Gingins-la-Sarraz, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Provence et de la Bourgogne Jurane, 1re partie, Les Bosonides, p. 79.

gundy;" as it actually extended over the greatest part of the lands invaded by the Burgundians of old. This kingdom had a nominally independent existence for nearly a century; though under Conrad the Peaceful, son of Rudolph II., and under Rudolph III., the Fainéant, it was under the high protectorate of Otho I. and his successors of the German Empire. On the extinction of the Burgundian line, at the death of Rudolph III. in 1032, the kingdom was formally united to the German Empire, under Conrad the Salic.

Beside these two kingdoms, two other states, also bearing the name of Burgundy, attained, in feudal times, a certain degree of independence; these were the duchy of Burgundy, west of the Saône, in 887, and the county of Burgundy, or Franche Comté, between the Saône and the Jura, which first rose to importance in 915.

Throughout the whole of the gloomy period we have been running over, the Alps may be considered, and were said, in the abstract, to be the frontier between France and Italy, and between the different monarchies successively established on either side. The boundary-line however was not always strictly marked by the crest of those mountains.

On the very first occupation of Eastern Gaul by the Burgundians, these had, from the left bank of the Rhine, gradually moved southwards, down to the Jura and the Rhone, leaving however the whole track between the latter river and the Alps free from their presence. But in 434 or 436, their king, Gondekar,

having been defeated by the Romans under Ætius, had fallen back on the mountains of Savoy, a country of which, after their peace with the Romans, formal cession was made to the Burgundian nation by Valentinian III., in 444. Hence the monarchy of these people extended to the south, over Dauphiny and part of Provence, till it reached its utmost limits in 470, with Geneva, Lyons, or Vienne as its metropolis.

This Savoy, whose modern name Sapaudia or Sabaudia first appears in history in the fourth century*, stretched at that time beyond the limits of the present country of Savoy over a large part of the territory of the ancient Allobroges, and embraced the cities of Embrun and Grenoble†. On the other hand however, the upper valleys of Tarentaise and Maurienne, as well as those of Upper Dauphiny, were not invaded by the Burgundians (who, like all other Gallic and Teutonic barbarians, fought on horseback or in chariots, and were bad mountaineers): they were held by the Goths of Theodoric and by the Greeks of Narses down to the Lombard invasion‡.

The Lombards, owing to their small numbers (they were no more than 62,000 warriors at their first onset), were not equal to the conquest of all Italy. They never took Venice and the southern sea-ports: only at a very late period (under Rotharis, 636–652) they possessed themselves of Genoa and the Riviera, and they were

* Ammian. Marcellin., xv. 11.

† Menabréa, Histoire de Chambéri, 1re livr. 7.

‡ Durandi, Antico Piemonte Traspadano, pp. 66, 67.

likewise arrested at the foot of the Alps. Defeated in their first attacks upon Provence and Burgundy, they had, by a treaty with Gontran, King of Orleans and Burgundy, given up not only all territories beyond the Alps, but also the valleys of Susa, Lanzo, and Aosta, which continued to be a part of the kingdom of Burgundy down to the conquest of Italy by Pepin and Charlemagne.

At the time of this conquest the Frankish kings were met by the Lombards at the "Chiuse" of the Alps. These Chiuse, or Ecluses, were fortifications erected at the entrance of the valleys, all along the foot of the Alps, and on both sides. In this case, in the Val di Susa, at the spot still bearing its name, at the foot of the hill of St. Michael della Chiusa, the Lombard wall stretched from this mountain all across the broad valley, to the opposite hill-side at Chiavrie; and it is indeed possible that the river could be dammed up at pleasure, so as to convert the upper vale into a marsh, as the most efficient means of checking the enemy's progress. There is an old tradition, which modern historians have discarded as fabulous, that Charlemagne, unable to force his way across this mighty barrier, was about to give up his enterprise in despair, but for the timely interference of a monk or minstrel, who showed him an unknown path over Giaveno, by which the position might be turned and the enemy attacked in the rear*. For the rest, similar for-

* Chronic. Novaliciens., iii. 10.—Rerum Italicarum Script., ii. part ii. 717.

tifications bordered the Lombard kingdom throughout its northern extent, as may be seen in Val di Pesio, where a village, as in Val di Susa, still bears the name of Chiusa; at the Barricades, near Ponte Bernardo, in Val di Stura, which bore the name of Clusæ in 1025 (Portæ was the name in ancient Roman times); and at Ecluse in Val d'Aosta; but more especially at the Chiuse dell' Adige, that narrow defile about ten miles above Verona, which played so conspicuous a part both in ancient and modern wars. On their own side the Franks had also their Ecluses: witness the Fort de l'Ecluse which still bars the Rhone below Geneva, and the village of Cluses, in a narrow pass of the valley of the Arve, in Faucigny.

It is perhaps not unreasonable to conjecture that the real limits of the rival nations were fixed at these respective barriers, and that the upper regions between the two frontiers, though acknowledging the high dominion of the Franks, were looked upon to some extent as debatable ground; and that, except when driven to it in time of war, the possessor of the Alpine region left it waste and desolate. Both Frank and Lombard eschewed the high mountains; the whole of Valais, and even the beautiful region about the Lake of Geneva was, owing to frequent Lombard inroads, but wilderness and unreclaimed forest as late as the times of Charlemagne* and Louis I. The Vales of Aosta and Susa were not in any better condition†,

* Vulliemin, Chillon, Étude Historique, p. 36.

† Durandi, Antico Piemonte Traspadano, p. 84.

and were consequently considered as of little importance.

We find, in fact, that the Lombard king Aribert, in 707, and Liutprand in 712, made a donation or restitution to St. Peter of some extensive patrimonies in the Cottian Alps*; from which fact, notwithstanding the deep and hopeless obscurity which involves the records of those times, we might infer that very large grants had been made, either to the Court of Rome, or more probably to the Church as a body, and especially to the monastic establishments which existed, we have all reason to believe, on the Alps at a very early period†.

Only a few years later, in 726, a Frankish lord, Abbo, a patrician of Vienne, under the Merovingian dynasty, founded the famous Abbey of the Novalaise, at the foot of Mont Cenis. His ordinary residence was at Vienne, but he had been driven to Susa by the Saracen incursions. In obedience to the spirit of the times, which was throwing two-thirds of the lands of Europe into the hands of the clergy, Abbo endowed the new abbey with vast possessions in the valleys of Oulx and Susa; but they were generally waste lands given to the monasteries for cultivation. We may safely argue that, whatever the real state of the town of Susa might be, the valley was little better than rock and swamp at the time that Charlemagne marched through it.

* Muratori, Annali d' Italia, *ad annos* 707, 712.

† Vesme e Fossati, Vicende della Proprietà in Italia, lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 120.

Notwithstanding his undisputed right as high sovereign, it was rather as a guest than as a lord, that this conqueror was received by his vassals, the monks, when he established his quarters at the Novalaise, in 773; where his troops had soon eaten up not only the larder of the monastery, but the provisions of the whole valley, to the sore distress and dismay of the good brethren.

Under Charlemagne and his descendants, the Alps became again the true limits between Burgundian and Italian lands. The valleys of Susa and Aosta were restored to the latter kingdom, though Susa continued to be a dependency of the diocese of Maurienne, as it had been since Gontran, king of Burgundy, erected that diocese at St. Jean de Maurienne in 575. Aosta also, as a bishopric, was united to the metropolitan See of Vienne, though it originally depended on Milan; and it seems that, politically also, it had fallen under the sway of the last king of Burgundy, in 1015*.

At the time from which our narrative properly takes its start, that is, soon after the year 1000, a revolution which had been in progress during the whole of the preceding dark period from the fifth to the eleventh century, was at last mature, and its effects became strikingly apparent. This was no less than the utter extinction of monarchic power, the impracticability of all general government, and the rise of local government, either under feudal or municipal forms.

* Durandi, Alpi Graie e Pennine, p. 3.—Provana, Storia d'Italia a' tempi del Re Arduino, 17.—Gingins-la-Sarraz, Royaumes de Provence, etc., Les Bosonides, p. 13.—Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iv. 1097.

All intent upon their work of destruction, the Northern barbarians had not, for a long time, aspired to rule. Goths, Burgundians and Franks at first simply declared themselves soldiers of the Empire they were ravaging; their chiefs bore the titles of Roman generals or præfects. When they at last founded monarchies of their own, they betrayed all their incapacity for civil administration. They did not in truth attempt, or even pretend, to govern: their occupation was merely military: the country was only garrisoned: a sort of loose camp-discipline was established among their armed followers, such however as might be consistent with the jealous indomitable spirit of personal independence which constituted the chief boast of those Germanic races. As to the conquered people, they were left either to anarchy, or else to the enjoyment of their own laws; but the new masters, even if they understood such laws, only took care they should not interfere with the claims of the conquering race, or clash with their insatiate demands.

With them sovereignty was limited to the exaction of homage and tribute.

In this universal want of a centralized community, self-government became a necessity. Towns, provinces, and even capitals, were governed by deputed authority. Not only kings, but dukes and counts, reigned, but governed not. Every officer entrusted with the care of a part of the State was as anxious to rid himself of the troubles of government as the sovereign who had appointed him; and in his turn transmitted

to subalterns as self-standing and unbounded an authority as he had himself received.

So long as the king or emperor was the warrior of warriors,—so long as, by military talents, or by stern energies of mind, he was able to maintain a shadow, a mere *prestige* of supremacy, the State presented the appearance of strength and compactness; but if at any time the hand that held the sceptre no longer wielded the sword,—if the continuance of peace loosened the ties of soldierly discipline,—the sons and heirs, or else the great vassals of the mighty chieftain, entered the lists for that mere phantom of his power; the ill-tied social faggot went instantly asunder, and the tatters of the regal mantle were laid hold of, in obedience to that sole acknowledged right of those miserable times, the right of the strongest.

The royal dignity amongst the German races—merely a warlike generalship—was not necessarily hereditary, though it was as much as possible perpetuated in the same family by the express sanction of the electors; the right of election resided chiefly in the dukes or counts, who also were not hereditary, but at first held their office by the sovereign's appointment. But when the holding of office and the tenure of lands began to be confounded,—when the lords looked upon the provinces committed to their charge as mere fiefs, and fiefs were transmitted from father to son by an abuse to which time in the end gave the force of law,—the elective monarch was reduced to a mere puppet in the hands of hereditary vassals. It

was in vain that Charlemagne and his ablest successors endeavoured to exercise some control in distant provinces, by the means of imperial representatives, the "Missi Dominici." These royal messengers, or commissioners, were only looked up to in proportion to the power with which the monarch was ready to back them. It was in vain to endeavour to weaken the stubborn lords by division; in vain that the French emperors split the dukedoms into counties, and the German monarchs withdrew the cities from their jurisdiction, multiplied the number of rural counts, or set up the authority of the bishops against the lay potentates. Everything tended to independence, insubordination, utter isolation. Division only doubled confusion: the most crafty or fortunate of those petty lords contrived to unite several counties under one sceptre, especially on the frontiers, under the title of Marquises, where a marquis soon attained all the importance of a primitive duke: as to the bishops, they soon evinced greater arrogance and ambition than even their secular rivals.

Thus it was that in Italy some of those thirty-six dukes, or simply counts, amongst whom the country had been divided after the Lombard conquest, had repeatedly set all royal authority at defiance under their native kings; and some of them, such as the Duke of Benevento, were sufficiently strong, after the fall of their dynasty, to wrestle single-handed with all the might of Charlemagne. When the empire founded by this conqueror crumbled to dust, some of them

put forth claims to the crown, and obtained it: Berengarius, Duke of Friuli (888–924), Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and his son Lambert (889–898), Berengarius II., Marquis of Ivrea, and his son Adalbert (950–966), and finally Arduino, Marquis of Ivrea (1002–1015). None of them succeeded in permanently securing it, both because they met with formidable rivals in some of the princes of the Houses of Burgundy and Provence, especially Louis III. King of Provence (900–915), Rudolph II. King of Burgundy (921–937), Hugh, Duke of Provence (926–947), and Lothaire, his son (931–950), no less than in some of the German monarchs, Arnulph (896–899), the Othos (961–1002), and Henry II. (1004–1022); but still more because their power was too equally balanced; none of them had any great material hold upon the country or people, and the kingly rank added little or nothing to the feudal strength of which each of them could dispose. No one of them possessed sufficient power to be a king, though each great vassal could play the part of a king-maker.

In Burgundy it had not been otherwise. The successors of Boson of Provence, and Rudolph of Burgundy, some of whom, as we have seen, stood up as candidates for Italian and even French sovereignty, soon slackened in their ambition. Conrad the Peaceful and Rudolph III. were only insofar above control of their vassals, that they had put themselves under the protection of the Roman Empire; but when the same Rudolph III., having no successors, inti-

mated his wish to bequeath his crown to Henry II. of Germany, in 1016, and to Conrad II. in 1024, he met with an opposition on the part of his vassals, which all the might of those German princes could never have overcome without enlisting a party of those very vassals in their cause.

Thus the evil of those Northern invasions was even more disorganization than destruction; weakness and improvidence was more fatal to social order than either cruelty or rapacity.

It is important to observe, in surveying the successive phases of that long night of barbarism, that the countries which more immediately belong to our subject,—Burgundy and Western Lombardy, Savoy and Piedmont,—met with a comparatively milder fate, and were treated with greater humanity than other provinces north or south. The people of Vandalic race, the Burgundians and Lombards, who were settled in close vicinity to each other, in vast forests between the Oder and the Vistula, previous to the occupation of the countries to which they gave their respective names, were amongst the most humane of the barbaric nations. The Burgundians had so far adopted the manners of settled life, as to dwell in towers or villages (Burg), by which they incurred the contempt of kindred tribes, a contempt implied by their very name. They were mostly mechanics,—builders and carpenters by trade,—not disdaining to earn an honest livelihood by their industry in the intervals of peace. It is perhaps owing to these la-

borious constructive habits inspiring them with a reverence for the works of Roman genius, that we owe the preservation of ancient monuments, both in Provence and at Aix in Savoy. The Burgundians were not numerous at the outset, (about 60,000 warriors at the utmost,) and a great number had perished at their first settlement, in the wars against the Romans of Ætius and the Huns of Attila. Their contact with the Romans,—as the natives of Gaul were now called,—had communicated to them some sparks of Roman genius. Their laws, the "Loi Gombette," published by King Gondebald in 502, and revised under Sigismund in 518, were in the main borrowed from Roman codes. They were dictated in the spirit of Roman municipalism, such as it yet prevailed in the numerous and still highly flourishing cities of Southern Gaul, but were less swayed by priestly influence than those of their neighbours, the Visigoths of Aquitaine and Spain. The Burgundian laws, in short, form the theme of the highest encomiums of the author of the 'Esprit des Lois,' who gives them the first rank among all barbarian codes. By the regard they showed for the blood of a Roman, at a time when life and limb were valued according to a scale of fines all over Europe, it may be seen that the Burgundians evinced toward their Roman subjects greater regard and mercy than other conquered nations met at the hands of other Northerners, especially the Franks*.

The vanquished land, both in Burgundy and Aqui-

* Sismondi, Histoire des Français, i. 129.

taine, soon achieved the subjugation of its rude conquerors. In all offices of state, in the council of the sovereign, and even on the field of battle, the Roman, or Romanized Gaul, soon attained the highest rank: witness that Ennius Mummolus, the præfect of king Gontran of Burgundy, who repulsed the first attacks of the Lombards, in 571, and played a conspicuous part during that and the following reigns*. Before the conquest of Clovis and his successors, Burgundy is described as a country altogether under Roman influence; and at the close of the Merovingian period, it was inhabited by a dense, prosperous population, in which the foreign or Northern element had been absorbed by, and blended with, the native races, and began to be distinguished by one language.

In Italy the Ostrogoths of Theodoric showed themselves even milder and more clement rulers; and nothing could well be more striking than the contrast of Theodoric's reign at Ravenna, with that of his contemporary Clovis at Soissons.

The Lombards indeed have been painted in very dark colours by ancient chroniclers; for, like the Burgundians and most other Germanic races, with the single exception of the Franks, they were Arians on their first conversion to Christianity, and as such the object of pious abhorrence to the monkish writers of those obscure records: even after their reconciliation with the orthodox Church, in the times of Queen

* Sismondi, Hist. des Franç. i. 190.—Michelet, Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. 1.

Theodolind, towards the year 600, they were engaged in those quarrels against the Roman See, which not only led to their own ruin, but embittered the mind of every churchman against their memory. There is little doubt that their treatment of their subjects was, at first, arbitrary and severe. The Heruli of Odoacer and the Ostrogoths of Theodoric, had claimed from the fallen nation only one-third of the lands, which they cultivated by means of their own free labourers or slaves,—a spoliation which could not be very keenly felt in a country where such vast tracts of land had run to waste, owing to the ruinous husbandry of great Roman proprietors, even before it was laid desolate by the trampling of barbaric feet*. But the Lombards demanded, some think two-thirds of the lands,—others, with more probability, one-third of the produce: an exaction which reduced the natives to the condition of labourers for their new masters†. Again, Theodoric, whilst appointing a duke or count to the government of his own Goths, seems to have allowed the Romans of the same districts to be under the jurisdiction of a count, judge, or supreme magistrate of their own. But at the time of the Lombard occupation, those of the Roman patricians who had not fallen in the wars, were put to death in cold blood by the Northerners who coveted their possessions‡;

* Vesme e Fossati, Vicende della Proprietà in Italia, lib. i. cap. vii. and viii. 74–77.

† Vesme e Fossati, p. 186.—Hallam, View of Europe during the Middle Ages, ch. ii. part i.

‡ Paul. Warn. Gest. Lang., Rer. Ital., i. part i., 346.

and the people of the cities had now hardly any protection against the tyranny of their foreign governors, except in the bishops,—of whom the Lombards always showed great jealousy, and to whom they never allowed any great share in state matters,—or in the minor magistrates, who were still empowered to administer the laws of the land in behalf of its natives*.

The first evils of conquest however abated, even under the Lombard dominion, soon after the settlement of the ruling nation. By the time that Rotharis (636–652) and Liutprand (712–736) aspired to the glory of legislators, the Lombards were anxious not only to deal fairly with their subjects, according to their own notions of right and wrong, but had even so far profited by the lessons of Roman wisdom, as to frame their own laws in obedience to its dictates.

And these Lombard Codes had this great peculiarity, that they were fair in spirit towards the conquered, not merely insofar as nobles and freemen were concerned, but their consideration extended to the very slaves, in behalf of whom we find enactments, not only in advance of old Roman customs, but such indeed as might put some slave-holding communities of our own times to the blush; as they protected the chastity of a bondwoman against the lust of her owner, and extended to the serf against his master those rights of asylum†, of which churches and sanctuaries

* Vesme e Fossati, p. 189.—Balbo, Storia d'Italia, p. 79.

† Liutp. Leg. lib. vi. 87-90.—Rer. Ital. Script. i. part ii. 80, 81.

were long since in possession. For these glimpses of humanity in the Lombard, Burgundian and Visigothic codes we are unquestionably indebted to the influence of the Church.

The Franks were indeed hard task-masters, not only to the extent that might be expected of invaders, coming after the havoc of their forerunners had left hardly anything for them to destroy, after nearly all had been taken that was worth taking, but far beyond all precedent, and beyond comparison with aught that might be read in the annals of barbarism. Nothing can equal the rapacity, the wanton cruelty of the people; nothing can come near the treachery, profligacy, and hypocrisy of their kings of the first race, especially of Clovis, the founder of the monarchy, even on the testimony of the good Bishop Gregory of Tours, who relates his horrid deeds in the tone of high eulogy, asserting that God prospered all his undertakings, "because he walked with an upright heart before the Lord, and did the things that were pleasing in his sight*." But the worst times of the Merovingians were over before Burgundy came into their possession (A.D. 534). Even then that province fell to the lot of Gontran (561–593), who, with all the crimes that stained his memory, had the name of being the "least wicked," and was certainly the most "Romanized," of the successors of Clovis, whose prime minister, both

* Gregor. Turonens. lib. ii. cap. 40.—Rer. Francis. Script. i. 184.—Sismondi, Histoire des Français, i. 139.—Michelet, Hist. de France, liv. ii. chap. 1.—Guizot, History of Civilization in France, Lect. x.

in peace and war, was that Ennius Mummolus, a Roman or Gaul, to whom we have repeatedly alluded. At a later period the Franks obeyed the influence of the Austrasian mayors of the palace, Pepin the Elder, Pepin d'Héristal, Charles Martel, and Pepin le Bref, all men of energy and understanding, who knew how to reconcile their own interests with the welfare of their subjects. By the time that Lombardy was also joined to the Frankish monarchy, in 774, this was under the control of the master mind of Charlemagne, —the only constructive mind during that long period of destruction.

The conquest of the Franks did not bring about the abolition of either Burgundian or Lombard laws, nor of any good those laws might do toward the mitigation of the horrors of barbaric conquest. As the invading races began to mix by intermarriage with the native people, each individual chose, as it were, his own country and nation. Every man was made to declare under what law it was his pleasure to live, and to that alone was he amenable,—an arrangement which continued during that long age of misrule. In Italy, for instance, after the Frankish conquest, under the Emperor Lothaire I. (820–849), a man had his choice between Roman, Lombard, Salic, Ripuarian, Allemanic, and Bavarian laws*; an important fact in after ages, since families endeavoured to trace their nationality agreeably to the law their ancestors had "professed." This state of things, doubtless, could

* Lotharii I. Leg. xxxvii.—Rerum Italicar., i. part ii. 140.

only have added to the egregious confusion and cumbrance everywhere prevalent in the administration of justice; but it implied, on the conqueror's part, an acknowledgment of the rights of the vanquished: and the influence of the magistrates and jurists of these latter in the "Malls" or "Plaids" (Mallum and Placitum, national or provincial assemblies), where the people, in Italy at least, obtained a very early admittance—as mention of its representatives occurs as early as 996*—must have opened to them a fair field for the vindication of those rights.

Nor was it merely the good fortune of the Subalpine and Ligurian lands to meet, as we have seen, with a comparatively mild treatment at the hand of their rulers; but it happened also in repeated instances, that they saw their local rulers raised to the supreme dignity, and that through them they assumed the importance of sovereign states.

The Lombards, for instance, at their conquest, had divided the invaded territory into three parts,—Austria or eastern, Neustria or western, and Tuscia or southern Lombardy. Each of these divisions was submitted to the rule of twelve Dukes. Those of Neustria, to which the whole of Piedmont belonged, were the Dukes of Milan, Pavia, St. Giulio, on the Lake of Orta, Asti, Turin, and Ivrea: the six other western Duchies are matter of uncertainty: they were probably Lumello, Vercelli, Acqui, Alba, Bredulo, and Auriate. From the time that Theodolind, the widow

* Muratori, Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi, v. 374.

of Autharis, raised Agilulph duke of Turin to the throne, in 591, the veneration of the Lombards for that good, wise, and pious queen made them anxious to look for their sovereigns among her descendants, whether in the male or female line; the iron crown of Theodolind rested thus on the brows of a series of eight western or Piedmontese dukes,—Agilulph and Ariovald of Turin, Aribert I., Godebert, Bertarid, and Cunibert of Asti, Ragimbert, and Aribert II. of Turin, and their kinsmen, for above a century, certainly not the most inglorious æra of the Lombard dynasty (591–712)*.

Under the Carlovingians (774–888) the young princes deputed to rule over Italy,—Pepin, son of Charlemagne, and King of Italy (781–810), Bernard, son and successor of Pepin (812–818), and Lothaire I. son of Louis I. le Débonnaire (the Pious or the Meek), King of Italy in his father's time, and Emperor after him (820–849), were under the guardianship of wise and brave ministers, heirs to the genius of Charlemagne and interpreters of his secret mind. These were Adalhard and Wala, the first tutor and adviser of Pepin, and Bernard, the second of Lothaire I., during the minority of these princes. The startling events which divided the House of Charlemagne against itself during the reign of Louis le Débonnaire and his quarrels with his sons, are matter of French, and of the world's history. But these ministers of the Italian kingdom have a close connexion

* Tenivelli, Biografia Piemontese, Decade 1. Re.

with our subject. Adalhard and Wala, brothers, were nephews of Charles Martel, and cousins of Charlemagne,—both monks, and both successively abbots of Corbie in Picardy: they were men of deep religious feelings, yet bitter foes to ecclesiastical usurpation, and eager to follow up the idea of Charlemagne, who wished indeed the Church to be rich, great, and powerful, but never dreamed that it should be otherwise than subject to the State, an efficient but obedient instrument of civilization in the Sovereign's hand*. To such principles these ministers fell victims, when Louis the Pious departed from the enlightened policy traced for him by his great father, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the clergy: the good Wala, especially, was all his lifetime the butt of priestly jealousy and intrigue. By turns banished from Court, thrown into the dark and lonely tower of Chillon, on Lake Leman†, and as frequently recalled to the head of affairs in days of public need and calamity, he was at last brought broken-hearted to his grave, in 836, at Bobbio, where, as abbot of the monastery, he was laid by the side of St. Columban, its founder, who had also closed in that convent a life of storm and persecution, more than two hundred years before (A.D. 615).

The influence of the superior minds of Adalhard and Wala was not lost upon Piedmont. It was perceptible in the schools which, in obedience to the im-

* Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. xxvi.

† Vulliemin, Chillon, Étude Historique, 1. Un premier prisonnier, p. 11.

pulse given by Charlemagne, they opened, not only in the old Lombard capital, Pavia, but also in those western districts, where they, especially Wala as Abbot of Bobbio, had fixed their residence,—at Vercelli, Turin, and Ivrea*.

It was also, no doubt, under the auspices of these ministers that Claudius, bishop of Turin (821–839), was enabled to carry on his brilliant war against the corruption of the Church, especially with regard to the worship of images, pilgrimages, and that devotion for shrines and sanctuaries but too peculiar to the mountaineers of Piedmont. Claudius kindled a torch of truth, the light of which some incline to see reflected in the pure faith of the Waldensian churches of later times, and which counteracted the general bent of a too simple and credulous population†.

But the opposition of Claudius to the corrupt practices of the Church of Rome was not, in that age, an isolated fact. The diocese of Milan, or diocese of Italy as it was then called, to which most of the Piedmontese districts belonged, carried on long hostilities with Rome, and strenuously resisted her encroachments. Jealousy of power led to a collision of opinions, and the Church of North Italy was, as we shall see, in a more or less open schism down to the eleventh century‡.

* Denina, Istoria dell' Italia Occidentale, i. 89.—Cibrario, Storia della Monarchia di Savoia, i. p. 70.

† Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. IX. part. ii. ch. ii. § 14.

‡ Bert, I Valdesi, ossiano i Cristiani-Cattolici secondo la Chiesa Primitiva, cap. i. 19.—Meille, Origine e Dottrine della Chiesa Valdese, La Buona Novella, No. 19, *seq.*

It is also important to remark, that whilst the Frankish monarchy, no less than the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms, were, either from their foundation, or from very early times, priest-ridden communities, a jealous separation of the powers of State and Church was always preserved in Lombardy. Even after their abandonment of Arianism, the Lombard kings excluded the bishops from their state councils; and theirs was the only kingdom where the princes of the Church had no seat, and therefore no influence over the national assemblies*. The ideas of Charlemagne, as developed in Italy by Adalhard and Wala, must therefore have been sown in a favourable soil, and have tended to retard the evils of priestly domination. There would also seem to have been great conflicts of opinion in religious matters, in this and the following epoch. We hear of Arianism being still rife in several parts of Lombardy, and especially in the province of Vercelli,—a proof perhaps that the whole Langobardic nation had not gone over to Rome at the time of the conversion of Theodolind. Liuthard, bishop of Vercelli, who rose to great power as arch-chancellor of the Empire under Charles the Fat, and was involved in fierce contentions with some of the great Italian lords, especially with Berengarius duke of Friuli, is said to have been put to a violent death by the Arians and other heretics, with whom his diocese swarmed, and who took advantage of the

* Hallam, Europe in the Middle Ages, ch. viii. part. iii.

general confusion into which the country was plunged by an irruption of Hungarians, to wreak their long-treasured hatred against the arrogant prelate and his clergy, in 901*.

* Irici, Rer. Patriæ Tridinens. i. 16.—Denina, Istoria dell' Italia Occidentale, i. 95.

CHAPTER V.

THE FEUDAL PERIOD.

We have thus come to the latest and darkest epoch in the dark ages, the period in which, at the breaking up of Charlemagne's empire, the Italian feudal lords entered the lists for the Lombard and Roman crown (888–961).

Some of these, Berengarius II. and his son Adalbert (950–966), and at a later period Arduino (1002–1014), took their start from Piedmont,—from the same province of Ivrea, of which they bore the title of marquises, governing the frontier-lands from the Alps to the Po, and from the Ticino to the Malone,—that is, the modern provinces of Ivrea, Vercelli, and Novara.

The fame of these, as well as of all other Italian sovereigns, or pretenders, of that epoch, lies deep under the weight of heinous charges, from which, owing to the darkness involving all temporary records, it would be vain for modern criticism to attempt to rescue it. It was by the fault of these princes, it is said, that the Italians won an evil name, which clung to

them in after ages, designating them as a restless, faithless race, ever ready to set up one of their rulers against another, ever busy in plots and rebellions, leading to nothing but a change of masters, and the aggravation of their own servitude,—ever prone to call in the interference of foreigners, in the unnatural quarrels between the children of the same land. This charge, so old and so frequently reiterated, first found an utterance in the writings of a renegade Italian priest*, who was perhaps as active in the enslavement of his country as any of the princes he made the theme of his invectives.

It is however too idle to charge the Italian people with the deeds of their lords and prelates in the ninth and tenth centuries. No people had risen, as yet, either in Italy or anywhere else; and as to the lords themselves, as an eminent Italian† justly observes, they were anything but Italians, hardly ever natives of the country, and at any rate French or German by descent, by all domestic ties and interests, by all dynastic associations.

It is only at the close of the period in question, at the opening of the eleventh century, that the European nations came into full development; and it was perhaps in Italy that the principle of nationality made the first endeavour strenuously to assert itself.

* "Semper Italienses geminis uti dominis volunt, quatenus alterum alterius terrore coerceant." Liutprandi Ticinensis Antapodoseos, i. 37.—Pertz, Monum. Histor. German. iii. 284.

† Balbo, Storia d' Italia, p. 104.

By this time the work of the Northern invaders was at an end. On that one point upon which those conquerors had laid the greatest stress,—that is, the distinction between their own people and the despised natives of the Roman provinces,—they were most signally defeated. Even the jealous provision which utterly disarmed the vanquished people, and disqualified them for bearing arms, was at a very early epoch and everywhere frustrated. In Italy, even under Theodoric, the Romans had crept into the Barbarian ranks*; in France, as early as under Clovis†. For the rest, in all other matters, the influence of superior culture, of luxurious habits, of religious authority, was not to be resisted. The absorption of the invaders by the subject races was already, as we have seen, far advanced in Burgundy and Lombardy, previous to the conquest of those countries by the Franks. This amalgamation of races may, to some extent, have been retarded in France by the accession of the Carlovingian dynasty, which, on account of the great ascendancy given to the German and Austrasian-Frank element by the earliest princes of the House of Pepin, has by some historians‡ been represented as a fresh barbaric inundation. But the work of Charlemagne was one of fusion as well as of organization; and, however abortive his efforts might prove toward a centralization of power,

* Vesme e Fossati, Vicende delle Proprietà in Italia, pp. 81, 200, 249.

† Gregor. Turonens. ii. 37.

‡ Sismondi, Histoire des Français, ii. 168, 171.—Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. xix.

they did not the less tend to a more intimate and general blending of races. Charlemagne, while aiming at the creation of one nation, only sowed the seeds for the formation of many nations; he gave rise to a new division and dispersion of the human families. Among the various causes which led to the speedy dismemberment of his colossal empire, none has been considered so powerful as the conflicting interests developing themselves in the bosom of the new societies which everywhere arise out of the wrecks of that imperial edifice. Each people on its first consciousness obeyed an imperious want of separation, of self-existence. Each nation went its own way, and chose its leader, its king, in obedience to its individual tendency. Monarchs began at this time to be styled "the Germanic," "the Salic," etc. The princes had become, as it were, the property of the people who placed them at their head.

Unfortunately these national aims were first made manifest at a period of the most hopeless confusion. Nations were in being before the limits of their abodes could be distinctly determined,—before their countries were settled; the first instincts of nationality were fatal to social order, such as it had been based on the magnificent scheme of Charlemagne. Society was only possible on new principles: it had to spring from unforeseen and incalculable sources.

In the midst of the birth-throes of this new world, the Italian princes had to assert their own and their country's independence. Notwithstanding the abuse

of their memory by German or ecclesiastic writers, some of them, especially Berengarius I. and II., were not below the standard of princes of their own epoch. But from Charlemagne to Otho I. no throne stood on an unshaken basis. Great European vicissitudes were stronger than the strongest of them. Hence is it too true that Berengarius I. did homage for his Italian crown to Arnulph of Germany, and Berengarius II. repeatedly acknowledged Otho I. of Saxony as his liege lord, establishing thus those fatal claims of Germany upon Italy, which entailed so long a series of disasters upon both countries. But it must be considered, that the claims of those Italian princes to the crown of Italy did not rest merely on the national suffrage. The nation was struggling into being, but not born. Their titles lay on their true or assumed consanguinity with the House of Charlemagne. These were to be made good against competitors who set up equal pretensions, and the decision lay with those temporal or spiritual lords who constituted the electoral body in all European states. Faithful to the policy of the Lombard rulers who preceded them, and from whom they probably sprang, the Berengarii had evinced an insuperable antipathy to churchmen. Ere he stood up as a competitor for the throne, Berengarius I., duke of Friuli, engaged in a deadly feud with that Liuthard, bishop of Vercelli, whom the favour of Charles the Fat and other Carlovingian princes had rendered insolent even to insanity. Now the Italian bishops, who had been kept in due subjection by the

Lombard lords up to this very time, knew very well that everywhere beyond the Alps prelates were the lords' peers: hence did they invariably look beyond the Alps for their sovereign. Hence every Burgundian, Provençal, or German candidate for the crown of Italy was always sure of the support of a great part of the higher clergy. It was by the bishops that Berengarius II. was forsaken and betrayed, when he again and again had to bow before the fortune of his powerful rival, Otho I. of Germany, who ended, at last, by taking from him that Italian diadem which the unfortunate Piedmontese prince had too long worn only on sufferance (in 961).

Called to the throne of Italy by the bishops, Otho I. only thought how he could best reward them. It was the policy of that great and good, but improvident, German ruler to weaken Italy by division. He hoped to humble the great Lombard feudatories, any of whom might still rise as a rival to his power, both by the elevation of the lower classes—the minor lords, "rural counts," the freemen and even the burghers of the cities,—by some attempt at a reorganization of municipal orders, but especially by the exaltation of the prelates. Upon these both himself and the princes of his Saxon line were lavish of privileges, immunities, exemptions, etc., amounting to complete independence of all secular power, not only for themselves and their clergy, but for the cities and their environs, and all territories under their immediate jurisdiction. Thus was the Lombard kingdom, as yet

to a great extent free from priestly rule, brought to the level of all Transalpine states, in which the bishops had in their own hands well-nigh all the feudal and electoral authority. Two new powers had thus arisen, or at least their development only became apparent, under the Othos, toward the close of the tenth century, in Italian society, and especially in the Lombard towns, — the Commons and the Bishops. Between these, as the Italian nation were yet unused to ecclesiastical sway, there was soon jealousy and hostility. The arrogance of the bishops, and still more of their "advocates" (counts or viscounts, lay lords or vassals of the Church, appointed by the bishops to watch over their interests and administer justice in their name), had at a very early epoch aroused feelings of popular indignation; and the people, by a natural reaction, came back to those few among the remaining feudal lords, who viewed the encroachments of the bishops with as much bitter resentment as themselves.

The reign of the last Otho came to a tragical end at Rome, on the 23d of January, 1002. Then it was that the Italian nation for the first time developed aims and aspirations, a will of its own. Then it was that, notwithstanding the uprightness and justice, the high virtues which had distinguished the three Saxon emperors, the Italians evinced an unconquerable weariness, a loathing for their foreign dominators. Then, for the first time, did the people arise against the Germans, and thenceforth, for four or five centuries afterwards, the presence of an Imperial host in any town south of

the Alps was the signal for mortal skirmishes between soldiers and citizens,—those skirmishes which by degrees taught the unwarlike burghers of Lombardy to overcome their dread of those iron Northerners, and, in the end, enabled them to meet them successfully on the battle-field.

Immediately upon the decease of Otho III., the populace in Rome, and all along the line of march to Verona, fell upon the funeral convoy that was bearing the remains of that emperor beyond the Alps; and it was only after seven days' hard fighting that his trusty Germans could succeed in complying with the last wish expressed by their young prince, to be buried by the side of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle*. Before four-and-twenty days had elapsed (February 15th, 1002), Arduino, marquis of Ivrea, had already been called to the throne, crowned at Pavia as King of Italy, and hailed as Cæsar, that is, Emperor presumptive.

This choice was a fact of immense significance. Arduino was anything but an exemplary man, though certainly not so black as the Germans have painted him. He was not free from grave errors, and even crimes; but his very errors and crimes were of a nature to enlist all national sympathies in his behalf; they were his best titles to popularity.

Arduino was a bishop-hater.

He was one of that family of French lords, who had come to Italy at the beginning of the tenth cen-

* Muratori, Annali d'Italia, *ad annum* 1002.

tury, and risen to power as counts of Auriate: we shall have occasion hereafter to dwell at full length on their genealogy. Suffice it, for the present, to observe that one branch of that family was still in possession of their original county of Auriate, as well as that of Turin, and exercised great power in Cispadane Piedmont, bearing the title of Marquises of Italy: the other branch, that of Arduino, lorded it over Transpadane Piedmont, as marquises of Ivrea; the little river Malone, which flows from Monte Soglio, past Corio and St. Benigno, and enters the Po at Brandizzo in the neighbourhood of Chivasso, traced the limit between the two marches. Arduino at Ivrea, and his first cousin Odelric Manfred at Turin, had thus the best part of western Lombardy under their sway.

Arduino had waged war against the prelates in his own immediate territory. He had taken Vercelli by storm; (that diocese was one of the greatest and mightiest in Northern Italy after the Metropolitan of Milan;) Peter, its haughty bishop, had perished in the affray, and his remains had been consumed in the conflagration of his episcopal palace. Arduino had treated with hardly less severity Varmondo, bishop of Ivrea, and laid violent hands on his property. A general outcry had gone forth against him, as a sacrilegious priest-slayer and church-spoiler; he had been put under the ban both of the Church and of the Empire. Otho III. had given large portions of his estates to his implacable enemy, Leo, the new bishop of Vercelli; and, so far as the decrees of either King or

Pope could have any weight, Arduino was deprived of all titles, rank, and possessions. Yet, strange to say, not only did Arduino continue unmolested during the reign of Otho III., not only did he bring those bishops to a reconciliation which must have implied submission on their part; but, hardly had the tidings of the Emperor's death reached Northern Italy, when the country, now bent on the election of a national sovereign, could think of no other of the surviving lords, but must needs proclaim this excommunicated outlaw,—proclaim him, too, through the organ of an assembly in which the ecclesiastical lords greatly prevailed in number, and in which a prelate, the Bishop of Pavia, presided!

The election, we are told*, was determined by an irresistible impulse of the nation, which the Assembly of Pavia had no power to withstand. That most of those lords and bishops acted on compulsion, is very clear from their subsequent conduct. Half of the Italian prelates stood up against the newly-elected King as avowed enemies, the other half followed him as false friends, only to desert him on the best opportunity.

The year of Arduino's election had not wholly elapsed, before Arnulph, Archbishop of Milan, entered a protest at Lodi against the transactions of the Electors of Pavia, and went over to Germany to

* Muratori, Annali d' Italia, *ad ann.* 1002.—Tenivelli, Biografia Piemontese, Decade i. p. 178.—Durandi, La Marca d' Ivrea, p. 57. —Provana, Storia d' Italia a' tempi del Re Arduino, p. 31.

invite Henry II. to come forward as a claimant to the throne of Italy. Arduino, after some signal success at the Chiuse dell' Adige, found himself forsaken by his partisans, precisely as Berengarius II. had been abandoned forty years before, and was compelled to fall back on his own hereditary domains of Ivrea; there he was still able to bid defiance to his adversaries, shut up for above a year in his good castle of Sparrone, in Val d' Orco, in the heart of the Canavese. He again issued forth, as soon as Henry was recalled to Germany by the troubles of that country; he won back his friends, avenged himself on his enemies, and reigned undisturbed at Pavia, acknowledged by Milan and all Western Italy, from 1005–1013. Henry made a second descent into Italy, on his way to his coronation at Rome (1013–1014), and he passed twice through Pavia; Arduino gave way before him, and again betook himself to his retreat of Ivrea, whence he even offered to come to terms with his rival, and resign his claims in his favour; but, after Henry's second departure across the Alps, to which he was driven by a fearful outbreak at Rome,—aroused, as some have supposed, by the partisans of Arduino,—this latter regained his former ground, and again humbled his enemies. He took Vercelli, besieged Novara and Como, and was at the height of success, when most unexpectedly, and for no well-established reason, unless it be infirmity, weariness, or impotent wrath at a new act of treason of his unrelenting foe, Leo, bishop of Vercelli, who had again

snatched that city from the King's hands,—he at last gave up all contention, and abdicated his throne (September, 1014). He then repaired to the abbey of San Benigno of Fruttuaria, on the banks of the Malone, a few miles above Chivasso,—an abbey richly endowed by Arduino himself; and there he ended his days, on the 14th of December, 1015.

The singularly chequered career of this Piedmontese King is perhaps the first great national event in Modern Italy.

We find it clearly stated*, that of the feudal lords yet remaining in Italy, two only were, at any time, ranged amongst Arduino's open and active opponents: these were Otho of Carinthia, Lord of Verona, a German, whose family had been established in that March by Otho I. of Saxony, anxious to make sure of a free entrance into Italy at all times; and Tedaldo, of Reggio, with his son, Boniface of Mantua, both belonging to the House of Tuscany, between which and that of Ivrea hereditary feuds existed. The bishops, on the contrary, all declared against Arduino, sooner or later, with the exception of two or three only, who were either related to him, or overawed by his vicinity and the dread of his vengeance; whereas Henry, who bore the name of "the Saint," and against whom no personal objection could be raised, had only to show himself with his Germans, to rouse the people throughout the country. His coronation, both at Pavia and at Rome, was the cause of awful scenes of bloodshed

* Provana, Re Arduino, p. 194.

and conflagration, in which he ran great personal danger, especially in the former city, where he could only effect his escape by an unlucky leap from a window, which disabled him for life, and added to his appellation of "the Saint," that of "the Lame."

Arduino was evidently the king of the people, whilst Henry was merely that of the bishops. These two powers were now contending for mastery in Italy; and the scattered fragments of the great feudal aristocracy, the few lay lords still existing, shifted their policy from one to the other side, rather with a view to their own safety, than from any hope of carrying much weight with them on the chances of the conflict; —witness Arduino's own cousin, Odelric Manfred, Count of Turin, who pursued so ambiguous and tortuous a conduct, as to perplex the judgement of historians*; a conduct which enabled him to keep on the best terms with both parties, both during the stormy period of his kinsman's reign and after his downfall.

Now the bishops were partial to Henry, because it suited them above all things to acknowledge a distant sovereign, full of other cares, a stranger to Italian politics, unlikely at any time to interfere with their proceedings. A foreign monarch, a German, Otho I., had first raised them to lordly rank; their interests were wound up, as they conceived, with those of that monarch and his successors. Notwithstanding some wavering and tergiversation, their policy was almost

* Provana, Arduino, p. 100.—Cibrario, Storia della Monarchia di Savoia, i. 75.

invariably anti-national. They were the false and the fickle and the venal ones, who put up the crown of Italy to auction: not in the days of Berengarius II, and Arduino merely, but even later, after the death of Henry II., when the Italians again strove to shake off the German yoke, it was again a prelate, Heribert, archbishop of Milan, who, by his own will, and against the wishes of the whole nation ("invitis illis ac repugnantibus*"), once more bestowed the crown upon a foreigner, Conrad II., the Salic.

The bishops doubtless had no reason to be partial to Arduino; the tragic fate of Peter of Vercelli, the ill-treatment of Varmondo of Ivrea even whilst Arduino was only a marquis, and the personal chastisement, the cuffing and buffeting the bishop of Brescia had to endure at his hand after his coronation, were certainly no recommendation of his cause to the other dignitaries of the Church. But we only know the outrages,—not the provocation; and it is not a little remarkable that, in a pious and superstitious age, these same outrages only seemed to win their perpetrator new titles to the people's goodwill. Not only do we hear of no popular outbreak against that violent Arduino, but his own brave vassals of Ivrea, the strong population of the Canavese, and the whole of Piedmont, stood by him in his worst extremities, and even rose in opposition to the German emperors, long after Arduino's death, in 1026, when Conrad the

* Arnulphi Hist. Mediolanens. ii. 2.—Rerum Italicarum Script. iv. 15.

Salic had laid siege to Ivrea*. It is indeed impossible to resist the conviction, that the frequent, however hollow, reconciliations of the bishops with Arduino, were, like his election, the result, not of any change in their disposition (for they were ever ready for new treasons), but of the mere irresistible pressure of the popular will.

Arduino was dead, and the Italians despaired of ever gaining their end through a king: but they now resolved to fight their own battle single-handed with the foreigner.

At the death of Henry II. in 1024, the people of Pavia turned their wrath against the memory of that emperor, by demolishing the magnificent palace which had been erected within their walls: they shut their gates against his successor, Conrad the Salic, the elect of bishops, whose few years' reign in Italy was passed in the siege of refractory cities, whose soldiers had daily battles with the multitude, in the streets of Ravenna, Rome, Piacenza, and, as we have seen, at Ivrea.

The death of the last Italian king, Arduino, seemed to be the signal of a war between the ruling and the subjected nations,—between Germany and Italy,—a war which, after nearly two centuries, ended with the all but complete success of the national cause.

Here, already, so close to the year 1000, we find the symptoms of national existence. There was a

* Glabri Radulphi Histor.—Duchesne, Rer. Francisc. iv. 40.—Durandi, Marca d'Ivrea, p. 61.

people in Italy: it consisted of those "secundi milites," as they were called,—the minor nobles, the freemen, the gentry, as they would be called in England, and of the burghers of the towns: all these were anxious that the sceptre should be in the grasp of a real king, a home king, ever at hand to protect their rights against the ancient tyranny of the feudal lords, and the more recent, more galling encroachment of the bishops. Hence the animosity of the latter against the chosen one of the people,—an animosity which, even at an incredibly and absurdly late period, in 1650, still vented itself against the remains of the ill-fated Arduino; when Cardinal Ferrero, Commendatory Abbot of St. Benigno of Fruttuaria, broke open the monument beneath which those relics had been regally entombed, and consigned them to an unhonoured grave out of consecrated ground; whence those bones were again removed here and there, only to find their rest, after strange adventures, at the castle of Masino, in Canavese, (that province always cherished the King's memory, and its nobles boast of their descent from him as from a common source,) whither they were stealthily conveyed, toward the close of the last century, by the daring exploit of a high-minded woman, Cristina di Saluzzo-Miolans, and her chevalier, Carlo Francesco di Masino*.

We have said that the people began at this time to feel its own force in Italy, but we have not pointed out the causes which led to that self-consciousness.

* Provana, Arduino, in the preface, pp. 12–15.

After Charlemagne the deluge came. The princes who had so little capacity to rule over their subjects, soon also showed their inaptitude to defend them. At the collapsing of the Carlovingian empire, on the erection of new sovereignties upon national principles, Europe had reached its utmost degree of weakness by disorganization. It was then that Burgundy and Lombardy, no less than France, Germany, and Southern Italy, were a prey to Norman, Saracen, and Hungarian inroads,—inroads so much more dreadful than the previous ones by Goths, Vandals, and Huns, because so much more aimless and boundless, so much more wild and desultory.

The Saracens, by this time also a degenerate race, so different from those chivalrous Moors who had two centuries before achieved the conquest of Africa and Spain, masters of Sicily since 827–851, established in Apulia since 839, were carrying on their depredations all along the coast of the Mediterranean.

Towards the year 891, one of their barks, manned by no more than twenty adventurers, was wrecked on the coast, somewhere on the boundaries between Provence and Italy. The precise locality cannot be satisfactorily made out; by some it is supposed to lie to the east of Nice, at the extremity of a peninsula enclosing the little gulf anciently called Port Olivula, and where, several centuries later, in 1245, the seaport of Villafranca was built. Ever since the sixth century a hermit, named St. Ospizio, had there his cell; and on its site a monastery had been built, in

581, which gave the peninsula the name of the Saint it still bears. There was the first landing of the Saracens, and the mountain between Villafranca and Nice is called Mont Boron,—a fancied corruption of Monte Mauro, from the fact that the Moors had there their stronghold: the chronicles of that age called the spot Fraxinetum.

Others look for this spot further west, at La Garde Fraînet, in a mountain-gorge above Grimaud, in the centre of the Gulf of St. Tropez, between Hyères and Fréjus; whilst others, again, to reconcile conflicting authorities, admit the existence of several Saracen settlements, all bearing the same name, both on the sea-coast and inland, all over Provence, as far as Gap, where some localities are still known by the names of Mont Maure, and La Freissinouze. For these writers Fraxinetum or Fraxinedum is, not an ash-grove, as the Latin name would imply, but merely the Arab for a bastion or palisade*.

All these particulars are of great value, on account of the obscurity involving the records of those terrible Saracen devastations.

On this spot, wherever it was, the stranded men first fortified themselves. They were joined by other bands from Spain, and began by hiring themselves out to some Provençal lords, especially to Hugh of Vienne and Theudebert of Avignon, on whom Louis

* Liutprandi Ticinens. Hist. lib. i. cap. i.—Rer. Ital. ii. part i. 423. —Gioffredo, Alpi Marittime, lib. v. Mon. Histor. Patr. ii. 286.—Bertolotti, Viaggio nella Liguria Marittima, i. 185–191.—Gingins-la-Sarraz, Provence et Bourgogne, Les Bosonides, p. 165.

III. of Provence, then ruling as king and emperor in Italy, had devolved the duty of protecting the country, but who had feuds between them, and never scrupled to employ these Pagans, or any other instrument, in the exercise of their hostilities.

After ravaging all Provence, the Moors made a descent in the valley of the Stura, both by the Col di Tenda and the Col d'Argentiera (A.D. 906), and ravaged what yet remained of the ancient cities of Pedona, Auriate, and Bredulo, turning their fury with particular eagerness against the monasteries, where the wealth of the land was then accumulated; they thus destroyed that of San Dalmazzo, the Martyr of Pedona, on their first onset. They appeared before Acqui, at a later period, in 933, but were repulsed by the good countenance shown by the people under the guidance of Aleramo, a famous personage, the progenitor of the houses of Montferrat and Saluzzo*. They then continued their wayward course throughout Liguria and Piedmont, avoiding fortified places, and in all reverses falling back on their strongholds of Provence. In these maritime haunts Hugh of Provence, now king of Italy, aided by the fleets of the Eastern emperors, besieged them in 942; he burnt their camps, and the forests which constituted their chief fortresses, and reduced them to extremities. But hearing that Berengarius II. of Ivrea was preparing to invade Italy from Germany, to put forth claims to the Lombard crown, Hugh came

* Liutprand, iv. 2. p. 452.—Durandi, Piemonte Cispadano Antico, p. 237.—Biorci, Storia d'Acqui, i. 159.

to an agreement with the infidels, and sent them over the Alps to arrest the progress of his competitor.

The Saracens had already a footing on those mountains. At their first inroad, in 906, they had run up to Susa, laid desolate Oulx and Briançon, all but destroyed the abbey of Novalaise, and the Hospice of Mont Cenis,—which latter had been established by Louis the Pious, and which Lothaire I. had given to the care of the monks of that abbey since 825. But they were now able to occupy the whole Alpine chain, from Mont Genèvre to the Great St. Bernard, and far into the Grisons: they poured down into Maurienne and Tarentaise, followed up their success into the lower Val d'Isère; they settled in Savoy, in Les Bauges, territory of Chambéry, and in the smiling valley of Grésivaudan as far as Grenoble, driving the Bishop from that See. They spread into the Valais, took possession of the monastery of St. Maurice d' Agaune, the seat of Burgundian royalty, and there established their head-quarters: for above half a century, masters of the Alpine defiles, and of the main European roads, they plundered pilgrims and traders, and scoured the land in every direction.

On the other side, the Normans, who roved the Mediterranean for more than two centuries, long infested the shores of Provence, and even sailed up the Rhone, ravaging both banks, in 859, and lingered in the country for upwards of ten years after that date.

The Hungarians, who had, since 894, laid waste all Germany, who had repeatedly entered Italy in the

times of the first Berengarius, sometimes beaten, sometimes bought off by that king,—who had destroyed Pavia in 924,—pushed forward into Piedmont at this epoch, and across the Alps and the Rhone, ravaging all those countries till 933. In that year they were driven back by Hugh of Provence, and all but annihilated in Germany by Henry the Fowler, near Merseburg: yet again they forced their way across the Rhine in 954, and from Alsace and Lorraine they threw themselves into Burgundy on their way to Italy. They were met by the Saracens on the Alps. "These two pagan hordes," as a Swiss historian eloquently relates*, "the one from the extreme west, the other from the remotest east of Europe, met thus in these high regions, like two storm-clouds in space." The collision between them gave courage to the long trampled-down Christians. They rose in Savoy and the Valais, and, under the guidance of the young Burgundian king Conrad the Peaceful, they fell on the exhausted barbarians and cut them to pieces. The Hungarians did not the less effect their purpose of forcing their way into Italy, and the Saracens did not the less retain their hold of the Alps: for we are told† that Isarne, bishop of Grenoble, only succeeded in ridding the valley of Grésivaudan of their presence in 965, and they kept their position in Maurienne and Tarentaise for even a longer period. Driven at last even thence, it is not very clear how, or when, or by whom, —the Saracens still tarried near their original nest,

* Gingins-la-Sarraz, Les Bosonides, p. 217. † Ibid. p. 227.

or nests, at Fraxinetum, till 972, when Robaldo, Count of Nice, William, Count of Provence, and Arduino III., Count of Turin and Auriate, joined their arms against them. Then, betrayed by one of their nation, named by the chroniclers Aymone, the Saracens were stormed in their last holds, and put to the sword. Before that time, in 955, Otho I. had put an end to the Hungarian incursions by the decisive battle of Lechfeld.

Notwithstanding the signal encounter between Hungarians and Saracens on the Alps, in 954, which we have just mentioned, we must not suppose that the presence of one savage horde prevented the advance of another. All intent upon avoiding unnecessary collision with equal or superior forces, the barbarians swept over the defenceless country, seldom earnestly, hardly ever successfully opposed by the feudal or royal rulers of those times, even when they were not actually enlisted by these latter in the furtherance of their petty schemes of ambition, jealousy, and revenge. It has been laid to the peculiar charge of Italian princes, and especially of the two Berengarii, that they let loose the Hungarians and Saracens upon their own country, by such auxiliaries to humble a powerful rival, or to ward off the attack of a dreaded opponent. But where is the country in Europe whose lords did not act with equal or more flagrant disregard of all feelings of patriotism, religion, or common humanity? Were German electors never on friendly terms with the Hungarians? or did French princes never sue for the aid of the Nor-

mans? or did Provençal lords, especially that perfidious Hugh, who could not even plead weakness or necessity, ever scruple to employ Saracens in their quarrels? Neither kings nor people were as yet aware that they owed anything to their country. There was a large class of loose characters, a floating population of runaway slaves and criminals, which, under the name of "Ribaldi," hid in the woods and the wilderness, ever ready to join a marauding party, no matter of what country or faith, and to point out to it the spots that lay more open to aggression, or that held out the greatest hopes of plunder*. Political passions and religious fanaticism always aggravated the evil of barbaric inroads. We have seen the Arians of Vercelli aiding the Hungarians against their own bishop, Liuthard, and leading the way to deeds of bloodshed from which the Northern unbelievers might have shrunk.

But for these circumstances, the uninterrupted success of these marauders would be incomprehensible. Nothing so forcibly strikes us as the disproportion between the means at their disposal, and the amount of mischief they were allowed to perpetrate.

Normans and Saracens scoured lands and seas in mere handfuls of men: the Hungarians, who were more numerous at the outset, broke up in several bands, so as to be seen almost everywhere at the same time. All of them were indifferently armed and equipped. At an age in which the horse was the nerve of an

* Durandi, Antico Piemonte Cispadano, p. 74.

army, they were either poorly mounted, or fought on foot, with bows and arrows, scarcely provided with defensive armour of any kind. With no other strength than such as arises from wild energy and unwearied activity, they rather eluded than withstood the shock of the heavy array of German or Frank cavalry; they wearied out, rather than grappled with, those men of iron, who took the field with their fathers' panoply, but under whose steel corslets their fathers' hearts no longer beat.

This rapid, all-sweeping, long-continued success of such apparently contemptible aggressors, especially of the Saracens, contains an entire revelation of the condition of Western Europe at an age about which we could otherwise obtain but little direct and positive information.

The Goths, Franks, and other nations, who had brought multitudes to re-stock the exhausted provinces of the Roman Empire, soon fell a prey to those social evils which had caused the depopulation of the empire itself. The great result of Roman civilization had been to develope the cities at the expense of the country. The Northern conquerors at first took up their abode in the country, and for some time they gave this latter a decided ascendancy over the cities. But even amongst them the land soon fell to the lot of a few great lords, who tilled it by means of coloni, or serfs, and before whom the whole race of small proprietors and free husbandmen rapidly disappeared. The evil was already very great under

Charlemagne, of whom it is said that he gave his English master, Alcuin, a farm stocked with 20,000 slaves*. The whole of Germany and the north of France were thus only a vast tract of forest and pasture-lands. During that short period of shallow prosperity and treacherous security, enjoyed under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, the remoteness of all aggressive wars led to a speedy desuetude of warlike habits and exercises, disarmed and unnerved a great part of the rural population. In the intestine feuds that ensued, between the sons of Louis the Pious and the great lords that stepped into their places, the people sought safety in a passive neutrality, which led to their further demoralization. In an age destitute of intellectual resources, together with their combative spirits, all the thrift and energy, the manliness and independence of the freemen wore away. Nothing easier than to buy off, or disfranchise, or drive away such people from a home which penury or insecurity had stripped of its charms. Society thus presented the sad spectacle of a few great landowners lording it over a desert,—stray keepers of a thin, dispirited flock. All trade and industry had equally ceased in the cities; and, with the exception of Italy and parts of Southern France, these had dwindled to wretched boroughs, inhabited by a starved, craven rabble. Most of the manual labour, even in the mechanic craft, was carried on by serfs, working exclusively for their lord's necessities, in his castle, or in the wretched huts hud-

* Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, xlv. 17.

dling round its walls. The rivalry between free and slave mechanics, which had begun very early in the Roman æra, was by this time almost universally decided in favour of the latter: all exchange of commodities took place through the agency of itinerant mercers. The pride of the towns was thus utterly broken, and few of them had either walls, or valiant youths to man them.

It was therefore anything but luxury, or the fastidious pursuit of the beautiful in art, that broke the sinews of the Northern nations. Their demoralization was assuredly not the consequence of abuse or excess of civilization; it was the "rottenness of the unripe fruit," with which the Russian Empire is now tainted.

This utter inactivity and incapacity, this *fainéantise* which characterized the Frankish kings of the first and second dynasties, was not peculiar to them. It was the curse attached to riches and power, in an age in which those advantages could procure no other indulgence. Those men of wealth and might, those great feudal lords, were daily becoming fewer in number. They lived at a great distance from one another, idle in their castles, in a state of melancholy isolation. Of kings, such as Conrad the Peaceful, of Burgundy, whose reign extends over more than half a century (937–993), nay, of the whole of that or other dynasties, of the lords and bishops who set them up or pulled them down, what but the bare names has reached posterity? The very confines of their king-

doms, their very titles, their pedigrees, the dates of their accession or decease, are mostly matter of vague, unsatisfactory conjecture. That they existed we know, for their signature, or the cross and other mark used instead, with their seals, are found appended to some public deeds, chiefly donations to churches or convents, a vast number of which are but clumsy forgeries of the clerks of the times. All the rest is a sad blank: and our ignorance carries with it a conviction that there was nothing worth knowing about them. Under the same blessed ignorance of each other's doings, almost of each other's existence, they laboured scarcely less than we do; only they were more reconciled to it. For two centuries there was little or no stir in Europe, no intercourse, no spirit of adventure, no curiosity, no common undertaking, no scheme of mutual support or defence. The decomposition could not have been more absolute or complete. Hence the landing of Saracens, the forays of Hungarians, always found the people unprepared. The disaster of one district was no warning to its neighbours: violence of attack was always aided by suddenness; it was put an end to by weariness, rather than by any plan of resistance. A universal cowardice, utter incapacity for counsel or action, had equally prostrated all crown-wearers: it laid hold of the descendants of Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, Louis the Stammerer, and all their would-be kinsfolk in France, Burgundy, and Italy: to this state of prostration Henry the Fowler and Otho I.,

his son, were the first luminous exception, and it was owing to those two monarchs that Germany gained for two centuries the supremacy in Europe.

In the midst of that unnerved society the Church had established an easy preponderance. The confessional was like a vast crucible, by which whole countries were turned into glebe for churches and monasteries. Together with the land, the priest had secured even more than the power it conveys. Owing to the rapid extinction of lordly families, the bishops had gradually established their jurisdiction over the whole or part of their diocese, chiefly over the cities where they had their sees. Both as supreme magistrates and as feudal lords, these prelates and the abbots of monasteries soon obtained a seat in those national or provincial assemblies which were originally composed of warrior-lords. Not but bishops had a seat there as men of the sword as well as men of the crozier, for we hear of warrior-bishops even amongst the companions of the first Clovis*. But in their ecclesiastical capacity they first appeared in the assemblies under the Merovingian Clotaire II., in 614, and again, more permanently, under Pepin le Bref, father of Charlemagne (741–752). These prelates introduced their own Latin as the sole parliamentary language, and propounded discussions on canonical matters, in which their lay peers, even had they understood a single word that was said, could take no interest. These latter, who had originally held their meetings in an open field on horseback, for

* Guizot, Civilization in Europe, Lecture vi.

prompt despatch, soon grew weary of those prolonged sittings, and discontinued their attendance. The assemblies had already changed their character and lost importance under Charles the Bald. The Champ-de-Mars was converted into a council, and the prelates became omnipotent, not as lawgivers merely, but as electors.

It was thus, as we have seen, that, at the Castle of Mantaille, Boson of Provence was, in 879, raised to the throne: six archbishops—of Vienne, Lyons, Aix, Arles, Besançon and Tarentaise—and seventeen bishops, amongst whom we find the Bishop of Maurienne, hailed Boson as their king, without so much as giving his state a name, or assigning to it distinct boundaries. Another similar Diet conferred upon Rudolph the crown of Helvetia, in 888, at St. Maurice; for, it is well to observe, large cities had very generally ceased to be the seats of government, and Diets were held in castles or convents. Counts, or other secular lords, seem indeed to have attended those meetings, but we are unacquainted with their very names, as none of them were called upon to append their signatures to the acts of the assembly. The Burgundian kingdom, thus a priestly creation from the outset, sank deeper and deeper under ecclesiastical thraldom. Rudolph III., not unaptly called "Rudolphus Ignavus," bestowed upon bishops nearly all that was yet in the gift of the Crown, and in so far as royal authority could give weight to such donations. By his munificence the Bishop of Sion obtained the county of Va-

lais, in 999; the Bishop of Lausanne, the county of Vaud, in 1011; and the Archbishop of Vienne, the county of the same name*.

We have already seen that there was less subserviency to clerical ambition in Italy. So long as Lombard kings or dukes, so long as the Berengarii and Arduino, contended for power, shaven heads gained little by rising into competition with them. After the last of those princes the people soon rose against priestly arrogance, so that ecclesiastical influence was of no long duration, and seldom degenerated into absolute rule.

Still, even in Italy, the German emperors had laid the foundation of episcopal ascendancy. In Piedmont, for instance, Otho I. granted the Bishops of Vercelli the amplest "exemption" from the Marquis of Ivrea, their feudal lord. The same Otho was lavish of similar privileges to the sees of Asti, Acqui, Novara: and these privileges grew, under Otho II. and III., to such an extent that, toward the year 1000, the bishops had either the titles or the honour and authority of counts, both in the cities and the whole or part of the territories, all over North Italy, with the exception only of Turin, Ivrea, Verona, and Lucca, where the Marquises of Turin, Ivrea, Verona, and Tuscany still held undiminished sway. After the death of Arduino, and the extinction of the March of Ivrea, even that city was given to its bishop, as count, and Leo of Vercelli was by Henry II. enriched

* Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, i. 15, 16.

with the spoils of his fallen adversary*, that is, with large portions of the dismembered March.

In the less populous rural districts, again, the bulk of the landed property was rapidly falling into priestly hands: and in days of public danger or calamity, churchmen were hardly the men to come forth to the defence of their own or of their people's possessions. Thus, at the time of the Saracen inroads, we hear of nothing but monks and bishops running about the country, carrying with them the precious bones of their saints, and tranquillizing the helpless people by the promise of the portentous effects to be expected from their exorcisms and anathemas. It was at that time that the body of St. Dalmazzo was removed by Audace, bishop of Asti, from Val di Stura to Quargnento, near Alessandria; and the brethren of the Novalaise found shelter at St. Andrea, close to the walls of Turin, under the protection of the count of that city, or else at Breme, in Lomellina, then a part of the March of Ivrea: and the shelter amidst the luxuries of a city, or on the fat of the land of Lombardy, was so much to the taste of those good monks, that they could never afterwards be induced to go back to their bleak home on Mont Cenis†.

It is true, mention occurs of warlike prelates; but

* Vesme e Fossati, Vicende della Proprietà in Italia, p. 274.—Durandi, La Marca d'Ivrea, p. 65.

† Durandi, Piemonte Cispadano Antico, p. 343; Antico Piemonte Traspadano, p. 5.

the fighting churchman was the exception, and he could always claim his immunity from service in the field in the sorest need of the country. The ranks of the upper clergy were generally recruited from among those younger scions of lordly families whom constitutional infirmity unfitted for more active pursuits; they were further enervated by a clerkly education and sedentary habits. Not only could there be no great combative spirits among these shavelings, but they often discountenanced it among their vassals and tenants, in order to keep them more easily under control: so that the menials and subjects of religious houses and their descendants all the world over, are proverbial for their lack of manliness, industry, and independence.

By good fortune the Church did not, at any time, obtain all that the lavishness of bigoted sovereigns or lords intended to bestow upon it. Many of those bishops and abbots were prelates only in name. Ever since the day in which Charles Martel gave the example of investing his rough soldiers with the good things of the Church, nothing was more common than to see laymen in possession of the richest livings, especially of the monasteries, of which they bore the title of "commendatory abbots." Thus Rudolph, the first king of Burgundy, possessed under this title the abbey of St. Maurice, in Valais, even before he chose it as the place of his elevation to the throne and his residence, in 888*. Everywhere, in the same

* Gingins-la-Sarraz, Les Bosonides, p. 34.

manner, we see the laity eager to take back from the Church whatever she was unable to hold by her own good strength. Most of the donations of which feeble-minded monarchs were lavish, remained a dead letter. All that the Emperor Otho III. intended as a gift to the Bishop of Vercelli, out of the spoils of the outlawed and excommunicated Arduino of Ivrea, continued in the jealous keeping of the latter, down to his resignation and death. Right, in that age, was always put to the test of might; and the Church, which even in times of its greatest order and compactness, was never able to muster any great amount of physical force on its side, moreover at this period shared the general disorganization, and had fallen as completely a prey to anarchy as any other order in that chaotic society*.

So many and various causes combined, then, to render those Saracen and Hungarian inroads possible. And the effect became cause in its turn: the desolation attending those very invasions added to the disorder and insecurity, the supineness and demoralization of the people. Recklessness, improvidence, and utter prostration, bid fair to render the evil incurable.

But when, indeed, is human misery ever past cure, or rather, where is there an instance in which evil does not bring its own remedy? Nothing perhaps contributed more to cause a reaction, nothing more immediately led to a renovation of robust and healthy

* Guizot, Civilization in Europe, Lect. xxvi., lxii.

life, both private and public, than the very affliction consequent on these Saracen and Hungarian inroads.

Men came to the conclusion that kings, lords, and bishops could or would no longer protect them; it became a necessity for each individual to provide for his own safety. It was in vain that royalty claimed the exclusive right of possessing fortified places; in vain that Charles the Bald, at the Diet of Pistes on the Seine, in 864, ordered the demolition of all private strongholds, in consequence of the abuse made of them by some of the barons, who had already converted those mansions into robbers' nests. Hardly half a century later, Berengarius I. King of Italy (A.D. 909) gave leave to the Bishop of Bergamo, and even to Risinda, Abbess of the Pusterla of Pavia, to build up walls, "ad reprimendas Paganorum insidias*." In the same manner, at the same time, all Europe flew to arms. During the tenth century, it was all bristling with citadels. The lords, the few remaining freemen, were compelled to make their homes into castles. Every isolated dwelling, every farm-house, convent, or nunnery, was walled round and fortified. Around those walls the defenceless cottagers clustered. Towns and villages re-raised their ramparts, and these were soon manned by people who, at least behind their loop-holes, had learnt to look Hungarians and Saracens in the face. True, all this did not prevent the catastrophe of Pavia, which fell under the attacks of the Hungarians in 924. But Acqui repulsed the Sara-

* Muratori, Antiq. Italic. Medii Ævi, ii. 467–469; Annal. d'Ital. ann. 909, 911, 912.

cens in 933; and near Turin, and many other Piedmontese towns, the barbarians dared not even venture to come. The isolation of each individual, of each petty community, had indeed become even more complete than ever; but both individuals and communities gradually became able to shift for themselves, and they soon learnt to suffice to themselves.

Everywhere, as it is in the nature of things, self-defence led the way to self-government.

The stir which necessity of self-preservation had created, did not cease with the causes that had given it rise. The sword that was taken up against Saracens and Hungarians, was not laid aside, when the last of these enemies had for ever vanished. Men had learnt to make war on their own account. Private warfare was admitted as a well-defined right. Either for offence or defence, every man's hand was against every man: security depended on personal exertion. Private interests, rights, and passions were only limited within the compass of individual power. There was scarcely any acknowledged law but that which each man could take in his own hand. Sovereignty had gone to fragments, and was reduced to feudal or municipal units. About the end of the ninth century, France had already been split into twenty-nine small states or fiefs: its dismemberment went on without interruption during the following age; and the principal well-known fiefs towards the year 1000 were no less than fifty-five*. In Burgundy, in Italy, in Ger-

* Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. xxiv.

many, the disorganization was even more thorough and general.

But although almost every man was left to his own resources, and the degree of personal freedom was limited by the means he had of holding his own against all odds, although scarcely a man need have a master, who could afford to be his own master, still there were men, vast numbers and whole masses of men, for whom isolation was impotence, and these were fain to compound for their safety by the partial or total surrender of independence, by the sacrifice of self-existence.

Every man who could betake himself to the bush, who could build his home on a rock or in a mountain defile, or otherwise encompass it with deep moats and high battlements so as to make it impregnable,—every man who fed a war-horse, who could purchase or otherwise provide a whole suit of steel, another kind of portable fortress, and by dint of early and constant training make himself at home in it,—was free in his movements, as completely as ever king or emperor, and could even, as we have seen Arduino, bid defiance both to Empire and Church. Those advantages a man might indeed have been born to: patrimonial wealth might have done much for him, but infinitely more was left to native energy and enterprise. Nobility in that age was hardly a matter of blood or privilege: the *prestige* of royalty did not prevent the last Carlovingians or the first Capetians in France from sinking into utter neglect and obscurity, whilst the virtues of

Henry the Fowler, or his son Otho I., raised the ducal house of Saxony to the dignity, and to the actual power, of empire.

But he who had no true confidence in his own force, who had not the good fortune to inherit, or the proper spirit to acquire, those means by which power was secured, had no resource left but to sue for the strong man's protection. He became the strong man's vassal —his man—and added thus by his submission to the very power under whose shelter he ranged himself.

Such was feudalism. Strength begot strength, and wealth added to it. From the time that general calamities caused the importance of every man to be measured by his physical force and a certain rude capacity for command, society was re-organized on the most primitive principle, which gave to each man as much as he had power to take. The weak was not only everywhere swallowed up, but became a more or less willing instrument in the hands of the strong: the petty fiefs, the minor states, rapidly vanished. Thirty-nine out of the fifty-five French fiefs above alluded to, were thus extinguished between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries*. New rights of sovereignty, a new centralization, were at some distant period to arise, out of new wants, new usurpations, new destinies.

In the meantime, however, Force had still its full career to run for more than three centuries: towards the year 1000 chaos was at its height, and the two

* Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. xi.

great elements of re-organization that still floated on its surface—the Church and the city—had hardly attained full development.

The Church was at that age a feudal institution. The bishop's mitre was tempered at the same forge as the knight's helmet, and monks relied on carnal weapons for defence. Still church lands belonged to that family where no one is born and no one dies: that family, however scattered and sorely disorganized, had still a head somewhere, a centre, a general organic principle. The element of concentration and durability was in it. Whilst the baron made over part of his possessions to a deserving vassal, or shared them among his children, or lost them by forfeiture or defeat, or bequeathed them to the Church itself, the tendency of this latter was always to annex and accumulate: her line never became extinct. Nothing indeed prevented the whole of Christendom from falling into her hands, but her inability to resist the attacks of Pagan hordes or of those worse than Pagan barons, who had learnt the art of plunder from them. It is not the least benefit derived from those Saracens and Hungarians, that they were perhaps instruments in God's hands to save us from unmitigated priestly rule. From the moment she was in need of protectors, the Church was lost. The laymen who defended her possessions, or administered justice in her name, her advocatores, vicecomites, or vicedomini,—titles from which so many noble families derived their names,—had both her wealth and power in their hands: they controlled her

elections, monopolized her revenues, and disposed of her livings for their own or their friends' benefit. Still the Church's influence survived her actual power. Her tendency towards unity, towards order and discipline, was not without its material effects on the new political organization. Monarchies or republics could equally find their models amongst her half-democratic, half-hierarchical institutions.

Italy was, of all western countries, the one in which the Church accomplished the least. Even in the Roman states, where it now reigns supreme and absolute, theocracy is a work of comparatively modern date; it was always resisted by the people, and only imposed by an overbearing foreign force. So long as Italy had her own way, priestly rule seldom exceeded its due limits. "The Italians," Sismondi observes, precisely in reference to the early part of the eleventh century, "were the least superstitious of all Christian people, the least disposed to acknowledge an authority or obey orders, merely because they were pretended to have issued from Heaven*." The episcopal power which the piety or policy of the German emperors had raised on the ruins of lordly authority, which had reached its highest pitch under Henry II., was wrecked, almost immediately under his successor, Conrad the Salic, on its first collision with popular freedom. As feudalism never was fully established in some parts of Italy, and in others never rose to uncontrolled strength, so the Church was un-

* Sismondi, Hist. des Républiques Italiennes (5th ed.), i. 82.

able either to share in its success, or to profit by its reverses.

The invasion of the Teutonic races had been the signal for a long contest between town and country. Roman life was essentially city life. German habits gave a preponderance to the farm and castle. In Gaul, in Spain, in Britain, the towns declined; they sank helplessly, hopelessly. In Italy some of them shone throughout the whole period of darkness; others were only partially and momentarily eclipsed. On the very first impulse given to the social world by the raising of fortifications in the tenth century, the Italian cities stood up, full of life and youth. The towns of all the rest of Europe had died; those of Italy had only slumbered. Hence the rest of Europe could only be feudally re-organized, while the regeneration of Italy was to take place under municipal forms.

North of the Alps were castles; south of those mountains, cities. The freedom of her towns was from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, to enable Italy to outstrip her neighbours in the race of human progress. During all that period municipalism absorbed feudalism: democracy hardly suffered the fragments of aristocracy or theocracy to endure.

In France, during the same period, it was the castle that carried the victory. The whole country was settled upon strictly feudal principles. Monarchy and theocracy became subordinate to the great aristocratic element. Kings, bishops, abbots, churches, convents and boroughs, were all members of a vast community,

living together on such terms as the law of the strongest had established, and submitting the limits of their territory or power, and the relations that bound them to one another, always to the same test of force.

Hence the different career and the ultimate fate of both countries. In Italy a rapid, sudden rise, a short but brilliant period of miraculous activity, a suicidal tendency to strife and rivalry, anarchy, and consequent exhaustion, division, enslavement.

In France, a long night of confusion and lawlessness: in the depth of it, a monarchical unity, order, stability, slowly, imperceptibly, but steadily, irresistibly developing itself; a converging force, neutralizing, equalizing, centralizing. From the eleventh century to the sixteenth, Italy turned all her strength to work out her death: France employed that period in the passive, painful travail of her birth.

But at the very point in which those two countries come into contact,—in South-Eastern France and North-Western Italy, in Burgundy and Piedmont,—this great diversity of political condition, of social and national tendencies, was not so strikingly apparent. At the fall of the Roman empire, and throughout the Middle Ages, the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, of Liguria and the Cottian Alps, resembled infinitely more the people of Provence and the countries west of the Alps, than those of the southern provinces of the Italian peninsula*. The Celtic blood had never

* Gingins-la-Sarraz, Les Bosonides, p. 43.—Leo, Geschichte der Italienischen Staaten, i. 284.

belied itself during the whole period of Roman domination. In Burgundian and Frankish times those countries had, as we have seen, very nearly undergone the same destinies, and very often acknowledged the same rule. At the formation of the new European nations, at the rise of the Romance language, by all outward characteristics, those people were still nearly akin. The Italians of the North,—Lombards, Piedmontese, Genoese,—are another race than the Tuscans and Latins; features, complexion, and especially accent, proclaim their northern derivation. The nasal consonants, the French *u* and *eu* have distinct limits at the Apennines, at the Rubicon, at the Magra, as distinct now as in Etruscan or Roman times. Between Lombards and Piedmontese,—anciently Gauls and Ligurians,—the difference, however slight, is also perceptible. The line of demarcation lies at the Sesia. Novara and its territory, highland or lowland, has not yet assumed a Subalpine character. On the Alps, again, the line of distinction can be only with difficulty traced. The Provençal and Piedmontese dialects have not a little in common, even at the present day. In the upper valleys of Piedmont, both language, manners, and habits, are everywhere so blended as to puzzle the keenest observer. Chambéry is decidedly French, Turin is very clearly Italian; but in the Val d'Aosta, in the Waldensian valleys, and all along the mountain-passes, the transition from one people to the other is frequently very gradual, and the *nuances* infinite.

In the eleventh century, west of the Alps, just as the kingdom of Burgundy, utterly disorganized, was falling into the hands of the German emperors, a number of small barons had parcelled the rural districts, leaving the towns more or less in the hands of the bishops. Yet feudalism in Savoy, Dauphiny, and Provence, never was so strongly established, and serfdom never was so oppressive, as in the North and West of France*. Out of Italy, Europe had no cities except in Provence and Languedoc. Something of the spirit of ancient Roman municipalism lingered about the cities of Lyons, Geneva, Vienne, Grenoble; which not only resisted feudalism, but, as was the case in Italy, to a great extent subdued and absorbed it. It was in these provinces alone, and nowhere else in France, that chivalry became, as it were, *bourgeoise*, and mere citizens were admitted to the honour of the accolade†.

On the eastern side of the Alps, again, the Italian element of the city was only imperfectly developed in Piedmont. The inland cities of that region, enclosed on all sides by high mountains; were not the best calculated for trade: their rich soil gave agricultural pursuits a paramount importance; and the country, especially in Montferrat, the Canavese, and the upper valleys of Piedmont, was more fitted for rural, that is, for feudal organization. At Turin and Ivrea, in fact, as we have seen, Italian feudalism had its last strong-

* Michelet, Hist. de France, liv. iii.

† Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. vi.

hold towards the year 1000, a hold which it only relinquished for a short time even in the palmy days of the republican æra. Those cities had no great share in the exploits of the Lombard League; and Vercelli and Asti, which rose to greater freedom and prosperity, did not long enjoy such advantages. The bishops of those towns gave democracy a long battle, and for above two centuries exercised over their dioceses an ascendancy which the cities beyond the Ticino had already disdainfully shaken off*.

Burgundy was thus less feudal than France, Piedmont less municipal than Italy; and it is perhaps in the respective weakness, in the indistinctness of those conflicting elements, that the future destinies of these districts may be dimly foreshadowed. Where neither of them was sufficiently strong to obtain a complete mastery over the other, nothing was more natural than that a third principle,—the monarchical,—should rise, resting equally on both, making either of them instrumental in the depression of the other. It is in these circumstances that we must look for the causes of the exaltation of the monarchy of Savoy.

Meanwhile the great curtain of the year 1000 fell on that first melancholy act of the mediæval drama. The general anticipation of the destruction of the world at that epoch occasions a gap in the records on which history is grounded†. Together with the suspension of life consequent on that awful apprehension of uni-

* Denina, Istoria dell' Italia Occidentale, i. 191.

† Sismondi, History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, ii. 225.

versal impending doom, there was also an entire cessation even of that scanty information which the secluded chroniclers of the monasteries were wont to send down to posterity.

The world was not indeed at an end, but one world had not the less actually passed away; and that ominous year did not the less mark the commencement of a new æra. The germs of a new European existence were already teeming in that vast decay of all the institutions of the ancient world.

Together with the new orders of society,—or rather with the new ideas leading thereto,—the new men were just making their appearance on the stage of the world, the founders of new dynasties, the heads of new families.

The gap between the old and new world is here mainly observable. It is from this epoch that nearly all modern history and genealogy takes its first start.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DUKES OF SAVOY.

CHAPTER VI.

RISE OF SAVOY.

At the time that the kingdoms of Burgundy and Italy came nominally under the sway of the Emperor Conrad II. the Salic (1024–1032), but were, in real fact, parcelled out amongst a set of lay or spiritual lords, openly and successfully aspiring to independence, two families had reached a very conspicuous rank on either side of the Alps. These were, that of Hubert, Hupert, or Humbert, called the "White-handed," the progenitor of the Counts of Maurienne and Savoy; and that of Odelric Manfred, or Manfred II., Count of Turin and Marquis of Italy, or in Italy, to whom, or to whose descendants, the title of Marquises of Susa has been sometimes applied, owing to their frequent residence in that city, or in some of the castles of its valley.

By a matrimonial alliance between Oddo, one of the sons of Humbert the White-handed, and Adelaide, daughter of Odelric Manfred, after the year 1044, a very large portion of the kingdom of Burgundy, and several counties in Western Lombardy, or Piedmont,

were united under one sceptre, and a new state was formed, which received great increment and lustre, under the influence of a high-minded woman, the Countess Adelaide, who fills the best part of a century with her name (1035–1091), and seems to have ruled supreme over the destinies of her House, both in the lifetime of her father-in-law and husband, and during the obscure career of her sons.

The origin of the House of Savoy has never been satisfactorily traced further back than that same White-handed Humbert. The disputes which have been carried on for centuries with a view to give Humbert a father, and a line of forefathers, seem to us unworthy the dignity of history. It had for a long time been the fashion to assign to the House of Savoy a German ancestry. The father of Humbert was, according to that version, a Count Berold, whose pedigree began with Witichind, the Saxon hero, known for his long contest with all the might of Charlemagne. This opinion was especially upheld and developed by Guichenon, the most distinguished historiographer of the House of Savoy, in the seventeenth century,—at a time, that is, when the House cherished some vague aspirations to the throne of Germany, and when it was consequently of the greatest moment to prove ancient ties of consanguinity between itself and the House of Saxony*.

In later times great weight has been given to a

* Guichenon, Histoire Généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie, Turin edit., i. 160–165.

theory first started nearly three centuries ago*, but now revived by some of the scholars who, under the patronage of the late King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, have been eager to throw light upon Piedmontese history†. By these it is supposed that Humbert owed his birth to Otho William, some time Count of Upper Burgundy—Franche Comté—a prince of undoubted Italian descent, who was the son of Adalbert, son and colleague of Berengarius II., Marquis of Ivrea, and King of Italy, in 950; in whose veins they also contrive to blend, either by male or female descent, the blood of Guido of Spoleto, and Berengarius of Friuli, the two first competitors for the Italian crown, in the latter part of the ninth century‡.

More lately still some Swiss writers§, who have

* Della Chiesa, nuovo discorso intorno all'origine della Serenissima Casa di Savoia,—a MS. in the Royal Archives in Turin.

† Cibrario, Storia della Monarchia di Savoia, i. 25.

‡ Guido Seniore (Duke of Spoleto).

Anscario (Marq. of Ivrea). Guido (King of Italy in 889).

Adalberto (Marq. of Ivrea),
m. Gisla, *d.* of Berengarius I., King of Italy.

Berengario II. (King of Italy in 950).

Adalberto (King of Italy).

Otton Guglielmo (Count of Burgundy).

Rinaldo (Count of Burgundy). Umberto dalle Bianche Mani.

§ Gingins-la-Sarraz, Les Bosonides, p. 231, and Recherches sur la donation faite au monastère de Fruttuaria par le Comte Otton Guillaume, le 28 Octobre, 1019.

been occupied with the arduous subject of the later Burgundian kingdoms, have thrown out some important hints in support of another hypothesis, already well known to Guichenon himself *, who treated it with great respect, which represents Humbert as son of the "last of the Bosonides,"—son, that is, of Charles Constantine, who was the son of Louis II. the Blind, king of Provence, king of Italy, and Emperor, (896–928,) son and successor of Boson, count of Vienne, in 870, and founder of the dynasty of Provence and Lower Burgundy, in 879. Charles Constantine, robbed of his birthright by the usurper, Hugh of Provence, his relative (also king of Italy, in 925) was doomed to an obscure life as Count or Prince of Vienne, under the precarious protection of the King of France, and is heard of as bearing those titles between 927 and 961. He died towards 965, leaving part of his dominions to Hubert or Humbert, his second son, but the only one probably who survived him, whose name first occurs in 961, and who bore the title of "Count in the Viennois"—not Count of Vienne—from 971 to 975†.

* Guichenon, i. 166.

† Boson (King of Provence, 879, *d.* 887).
|
Louis II., l'Aveugle (Emperor, etc. 928).
|
Charles Constantine (Count and Prince of Vienne, 927–961, *d.* 955).
|
Richard, 961. | Humbert, 961 (Count in Viennois, 971–975).

Now at the very opening of the eleventh century, in 1003, all the historians of the House of Savoy find the first traces of their Humbert the "White-handed," —an appellation, by the way, which appears in no contemporary records, and is only first applied to him by the anonymous chroniclers of Savoy in the early part of the fifteenth century*. He appears at that epoch as Count of Salmorenc, a county which embraced twenty-two manors or castles, and derived its name from a town destroyed by the Saracens towards 940, situated in the neighbourhood of Voiron, diocese of Grenoble, the residence in later times of the Bailiffs or Governors of the Viennois.

If we bear in mind that Vienne, either as a royal residence or as a metropolitan see, could hardly be left in the possession of Charles Constantine, in spite of his specious title of Count and Prince of that city; if we recollect that at that epoch nearly all towns of any consequence shook off all allegiance to their feudal lords, and were either governed by the bishops or by their own magistrates, so that the lords only held their ground over part or parts of the rural districts appertaining to their former dominions; it seems but natural to suppose that both Charles Constantine himself, and still more his son Humbert, satisfied themselves with some of those minor districts, and that the county of Salmorenc was among their most important domains.

* Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie, Monument. Historiæ Patriæ, Scriptor. i. 76.

During the reign of Rudolph III., the last of the Burgundian monarchs (993–1032), this Humbert rose to distinction, partly owing to the regard the King paid to the all but royal blood that flowed in his veins, and to the close relationship in which he stood both to the King himself and to his Queen Ermengarde, but still more owing to his staunch adherence to the royal cause, during the long disturbances in which that weak-minded monarch (le Lâche or le Fainéant) found himself involved against his powerful vassals. After the death of Rudolph, Humbert placed himself by the side of the widowed Queen Ermengarde, as her advocate and adviser, and, from the midst of the tumults which arose about the succession of the throne, he conveyed her safely across the Alps to Aosta, a town then under his sway, and thence to Zurich, where she placed herself under the protection of Conrad the Salic, to whom, in the same year, the dying Rudolph had sent the ring and lance of St. Maurice, the emblems of Burgundian royalty.

Conrad, who, with all the favour of Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, had only made his way to the throne of Italy by hard fighting, in 1026, met with even greater resistance in his efforts to secure the inheritance of Burgundy, where a formidable competitor stood up against him, in the person of Oddo or Eudes, Count of Champagne, under whom many Burgundian lords and prelates had ranged themselves: especially the Count of Geneva, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Bishop of Maurienne.

It was only two years after the death of Rudolph,—that is, in 1034,—that Conrad thoroughly crushed the rival party. He then marched into Burgundy at the head of a German force, and was joined on the Rhone by an Italian army, which, under the standards of Heribert of Milan, and Boniface Marquis of Tuscany, had been led across his own Pass of the Great St. Bernard by Humbert, who bore at that juncture the title of Count of Burgundy. After a signal victory, Conrad renewed at Geneva the ceremony of coronation, which had already been celebrated two years before at the monastery of Payerne, in Vaud.

Foiled thus in Burgundy, Oddo of Champagne again appeared as a competitor with Conrad for the throne of Italy, in 1037, set up by the fickle and restless, but powerful and daring, Heribert of Milan, the king-maker of those times, and by other Lombard prelates. Death however, which Oddo met in battle against the Duke of Lorraine, put an end to his ambition.

The important and timely aid which Humbert had it in his power to lend the Emperor at the time of the wars for the succession of Burgundy, easily secured for him the first rank among those lords of that kingdom who had embraced the Emperor's cause, even had not his consanguinity with the House of Rudolph, and the high station he occupied near his Queen,—besides his hypothetical descent from the successors of Boson,—already given him the highest importance previous to Conrad's accession.

It seems indeed sufficiently clear that the Salic monarch invested him with the lieutenancy of the kingdom, with all the authority that the Crown still possessed in Burgundy. Hence, perhaps, the title of "Count of Burgundy" (Comes de Burgundia), by which the Emperor's biographer, Wippo, designates him*. The county of Salmorenc, which was probably his paternal inheritance, and in which he first appears in 1003, was given by Rudolph III. to his Queen Ermengarde, in 1011, together with other possessions in the county of Savoy; but the King, no doubt, took care to allow ample indemnity to Humbert. This latter appears at different periods to have exercised lordly sway over Savoy, over the county of Nyon, on the north bank of the Leman, over Chablais, which at that time extended over part of Lower Valais, and in all probability also over Higher Valais; since before 1040 he had one of his four sons, Aymon, appointed Bishop of Sion, as well as Provost or Abbot of St. Maurice. The same ascendancy he likewise possessed over the see of Tarentaise, over Belley, a county or diocese on the right bank of the Rhone opposite to the district of Chambéry, and also over Maurienne.

The Bishop of this latter province had long since been its Count, and the Lords de la Chambre held the dignity of Viscounts under him; but that prelate had forfeited his temporal power by following the fortunes of Oddo of Champagne, had been driven

* Wippo, Vita Chuonradi Salici, p. 5.

from his see, and his very diocese was for a short time united to that of Turin*. It was most probably at this epoch that Humbert obtained Maurienne from the Emperor; but he may before that time have held possessions there, and shared, as was then the universal custom, the feudal sovereignty with the Bishop, as his successors did at the restoration of the see in 1061. Still the Princes of this House for a long time affected the title of "Counts of Maurienne;" and there are localities in the province,—such as the so-called Tower of Beroldo, and the Castle of Charbonnière, in the vicinity respectively of St. Jean de Maurienne and Aiguebelle,—fondly pointed out as so many arguments in support of the tradition which would place the cradle of the dynasty of Savoy in the valley of the Arc.

Humbert had likewise some possessions in the territory of the Counts of Geneva.

All these dominions were in Burgundy, and all beyond the Alps. But Humbert also exercised supreme authority near Aosta, as early as 1018; and it was especially the possession of that valley, and of the important passes which it commands, that enabled him, as we have seen, to play so prominent a part in the great political vicissitudes of those times. Aosta, according to Durandi†, had been detached from the Lombard kingdom, and attached to the monarchy of Rudolph, only towards 1015; at which time, in all

* Durandi, Antico Piemonte Traspadano, p. 35.

† Durandi, Alpi Graie e Pennine, pp. 4–6.

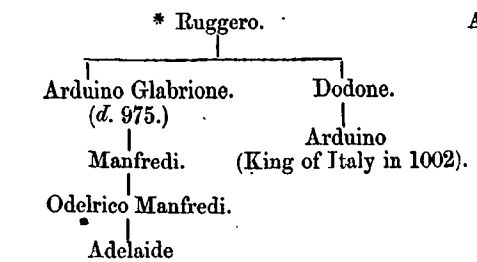
probability, the government of that county had been given to Humbert.

There are documents which would seem to prove that Humbert was still living in 1056, and it is supposed that he died soon after that year; but we have no account of any important achievements by him after the year 1034. Indeed, were we to adopt the views of the Swiss critics, if he was living in 961, and succeeded his father in 971, he must already have attained a great age at the time of Conrad's accession. Several years before his death (about 1044) Humbert added to the greatness of his House by the marriage of one of his sons, Oddo, with Adelaide, daughter of Odelric Manfred, Count of Turin and Marquis of Italy. The Countess Adelaide was already the widow of two husbands.

The genealogy of the Counts of Turin is far less complicate than that of the Lords of Maurienne*. The first of their house seems to have been a French or Norman adventurer, by name Roger, who, together with a brother named Arduino, came to seek his fortune in Italy at the beginning of the tenth century. By a marriage with the widow of Rudolph, Count of Auriate, Roger obtained the sovereignty of that county. He left a son, named Arduino Glabrione, to whom, it is conjectured, Berengarius II., Marquis of Ivrea, gave the government of the counties of Turin and Ivrea, at

* Terraneo, La Principessa Adelaide Illustrata, part i. cap. 12, vol. i. 82.—Cibrario, Storia della Monarchia di Savoia, i. 68.

the time of his accession to the throne of Italy in 950. This Arduino Glabrione rescued the Valley of Susa from the hands of the Saracens in 943; and was perhaps the first to take up his occasional residence in the town or castle of Susa, at the foot of two of the chief mountain-passes,—Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre,—whence he could best exercise his office as Lord of the Marches and Guardian of the Alps. Arduino Glabrione died about 975. He had a brother, by name Odone or Dodone, supposed to be the father of that Arduino whom we have seen rising to great power as Marquis of Ivrea and King of Italy (1002–1014), and a son called Manfred, of whom was born Odelric Manfred, the father of Adelaide*. Odelric Manfred, as we have seen, knew how to suit his policy to the exigencies of the times, so as to avoid being involved in the fate of his relative, King Arduino; and at the fall of the latter he not only held his ground in the counties of Turin and Auriate, but it was then, most probably, that he secured for himself that authority over the greatest part of the Italian frontier, which had hitherto been exercised by Arduino



as Marquis of Ivrea. Alric, brother of Manfred, was at the same time Bishop of Asti.

Manfred contrived to maintain his authority unimpaired to the day of his death, in 1035. By that time Adelaide, probably his eldest although not only daughter, was already married to Hermann, duke of Swabia, half-brother of Henry III., the Black, son of Conrad the Salic, and his successor in 1039. The Swabian prince easily obtained from the Emperor the investiture of the Marquisate of Italy, to which Adelaide, as a female, could have no claim. Hermann died in 1038, and Adelaide soon after bestowed her hand, and the rank it conferred, upon Henry, son of William, a marquis of that House which took its name from Montferrat. Henry died also, probably in 1044, and then it was that Adelaide was united to Oddo, the son of Humbert the White-handed, wedding thus, as it were, the Lombard to the Burgundian frontier, and forming a state which embraced vast though somewhat scattered possessions, from the Rhone and the Leman, on both sides of the Alps and down to the Mediterranean.

Adelaide was for the third time a widow in 1060, and meditated a fourth marriage; from which she was dissuaded by Peter Damiano, a holy man and a Papal legate, repeatedly a visitor to her court. A new marriage was in fact no longer required from political circumstances. Of Oddo, Adelaide had issue, both sons and daughters; in the name of the former, and as their guardian, she might be allowed to

exercise marchional sway; and she did so with great spirit and honour, even after the death of them all, in 1080, when she held the reins of government in behalf of her grandson, Humbert II.

Perhaps, for the sake of form, she had her grandson-in-law, Frederic of Montbeillard, Count of Monson or Montion (a castle in Lorraine, on the Moselle), invested with the title of marquis. Frederic had married Agnes, the eldest daughter of Peter, son of Adelaide, and died on the 29th of June, 1091. Adelaide herself ended her life on the 19th of December in the same year.

The genealogy of these earliest Princes of the House of Savoy is, for the most part, matter of vague and often very unsatisfactory conjecture. Humbert the White-handed had four sons, two of whom either shared or inherited the paternal sway. One was Oddo, the husband of Adelaide, mention of whom occurs from 1030 to 1060; another, probably the eldest, Amadeus I., who also gave signs of life from 1030 to 1042. He is called Amadeus "with the tail" (Amadeus Cauda, or Amédée la Queue), from an idle tradition that being at Verona, or Rome, with Henry III. in 1046, he insisted upon coming into the Emperor's presence with his large retinue, or "tail," a breach of courtly etiquette at which the good-humoured monarch thought it proper to connive.

It is possible that Amadeus survived his father, and had the government of the whole or part of his estates beyond the Alps; but Oddo seems to have

enjoyed a longer life; and at some period, as for instance in 1051, that is probably during his father's lifetime, he acted as lord in Tarentaise, an argument in support of the hypothesis that Humbert, by this time very aged, had divided his dominions between his sons, and possibly shown partiality to Oddo, who bid fair, by his marriage, to raise his House to unprecedented greatness. The two other sons of Humbert were destined to the Church. Aymon was bishop in Valais, and Burkard was also styled a bishop, although it is not known of what diocese.

The records of these princes, the "signs of life," by which, as we have said, we are made at all aware of them, occur mainly in deeds, chiefly donations to churches or monasteries, to which they appended their signatures, either as principal, or merely as witnesses, by virtue of their lordly offices, sometimes as security to the deeds themselves. Now of such contracts, charters and diplomas as have escaped the ravages of time, many are shameless forgeries, chiefly by monkish clerks, who carried on a very extensive trade in such deceptions; others perplex us by frequent interpolations. Even in genuine documents names are often strangely spelt; in many instances the name alone is given; the title is sometimes added, but without territorial designation; so that, for instance, a distinction between Hubert, Hupert, or Humbert, between Adalbert, Adelbert, Edelbert, Albert, Aubert, and Obert, or otherwise between a Humbert of Savoy, and another of Geneva, or a third of Vienne, is at no time an easy task.

It is thus, for instance, that the very existence of Amadeus I., and Oddo, was overlooked by the early chroniclers*. Of Oddo himself no mention is made. They marry Humbert I. himself to Adelaide of Susa, and give him for a son one Amadeus, to whom they refer all that belongs to Amadeus I., including even the memorable adventure of "the Tail." They thus upset the whole order of Amadeuses, and the whole line of reigning princes, to the great distress and discomfiture of subsequent genealogists†.

The issue of Amadeus I. did not survive him. Oddo and Adelaide had three sons, two of whom were, nominally at least, acknowledged as rulers. The eldest, Peter I., bore the title of marquis, and held sway in Italy under his mother, down to the year 1078. Amadeus II. was called the Count, and governed perhaps beyond the Alps: he is supposed to have survived his brother, and his death is referred to the year 1080. Peter only left two daughters, Agnes and Alice. Amadeus II. had a son, who, after the death of Adelaide, in 1091, succeeded as Humbert II., called "Le Renforcé" (the Stout, or the Strong). With Humbert II. the succession followed in a direct line, from father to son, through Amadeus III., Humbert III., styled "the Saint," and Thomas I.

This Thomas left nine legitimate sons, and five or more daughters. Of the sons three reigned after him. Amadeus IV. who was the eldest, and his son Boni-

* Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie, Mon. Hist. Patr., i. 84.

† L'Art de vérifier les Dates, iii. 614.

face, surnamed "the Roland," then Peter II., called "the Charlemagne," who was the seventh, and Philip the eighth, of the sons of Thomas.

The line was not continued by any of these three, but by the offspring of another, the third son of Thomas I., also called Thomas, who bore the titles of Count of Flanders and Hainault, and whom we style Thomas II., although he never reigned as Count of Savoy.

This Thomas II. had three sons,—Thomas III., Amadeus, and Louis. Amadeus reigned in Savoy after the death of his uncle Philip I., under the title of Amadeus V., and was sometimes styled "the Great." Thomas III., like his father, rose to power in Piedmont, and gave rise to a branch line, which bore the titles of Princes of Achaia and Morea, and were allowed to govern in Italy, acknowledging however the supremacy of Amadeus V. and his line, who continued to reign in Savoy. The third of the sons of Thomas II., Ludovic or Louis, founded a third branch, which had feudal sway on the Leman, under the title of Lords or Barons of Vaud.

Thus were the domains of the House definitively partitioned, at, or soon after, the death of Philip I., in 1285. The Barons of Vaud were extinct in 1350; the Princes of Achaia lasted till 1418, when the possessions of Savoy were again brought together under one sceptre.

In Savoy, after Amadeus V. two of his sons came successively to the throne. Edward "the Liberal," and

Aymon "the Peaceful." From Aymon again the succession proceeds from father to son under Amadeus VI., "the Green Count," Amadeus VII., "the Red Count," and Amadeus VIII., a great prince, to whom the surname of "the Solomon" has sometimes been given. Up to this time the princes of Savoy, though some of their states, such as Aosta and Chablais, were dignified by the title of Duchies, either in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century, had always adhered to their original titles of Counts of Maurienne and of Savoy. But in 1416, Amadeus VIII. was, by an imperial diploma, raised to the rank of Duke of Savoy. During the same reign, in 1424, Piedmont acquired the name of a principality.

We reckon, thus, during little more than three centuries (1003–1416) nineteen reigning counts, from the first Humbert to the eighth Amadeus*. Some genealogists indeed begin with a "Beroldo" of Maurienne, or a "Manasses" of Savoy, both regarded as fathers of Humbert; but as, again, they overlook either Amadeus I. or Peter I., the order is not very materially disturbed†.

Of the branch of Piedmont, besides Thomas II. of Flanders, and his eldest son Thomas III., we must mention Philip, son of Thomas III., James, son of Philip, and the two sons of this latter, Amadeus and Ludovic

* See the Pedigree at the end of this volume.

† Costa de Beauregard, Mémoires Historiques de la Maison Royale de Savoie, i. 3.—Litta, Famiglie Celebri d'Italia, Art. Savoia.—Cibrario e Promis, Sigilli de' Principi di Savoia, Preface.

or Louis, who all, the two first-named excepted, bore the title of Princes of Achaia. Philip, the eldest son of James, an ill-fated prince, did not come to the title.

The Barons of Vaud were Louis I. and Louis II. John, son of the latter, did not survive his father.

During the reign of these nineteen Counts the House of Savoy, whether in its main line, or in its numerous branches, legitimate or otherwise, was never known to produce a craven, an idiot, or a *fainéant* prince. We meet no instance of a ruler unable to mount on horseback and marshal his subjects. Owing to the meagreness of contemporary records, but little is known with respect to them during their earlier ages, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but still absolutely nothing that could invalidate our assertions.

During the first of those two centuries (1003–1091) Humbert the White-handed and his daughter-in-law Adelaide shine forth almost alone; and the princes Amadeus I. and Oddo, as well as Peter I. and Amadeus II., are dimmed by their lustre. The following century is almost filled up by the three reigns of Humbert II. (1091–1103), Amadeus III. (1103–1148), and Humbert III. (1148–1188), brave and pious princes, warriors, and saints.

But the real splendour of the House begins with Thomas I. and his numerous offspring (1188–1285), who for nearly one hundred years filled all Europe with the name of Savoy. It is at this period also that the House for the first time became involved in domestic disorders and divisions.

The order of succession was from the very earliest period strictly limited to the male line, at least so far as the original dominions in Savoy and Val d'Aosta were concerned; agreeably to the general laws of the German Empire, of which those states, together with all the other fragments of the Burgundian kingdom, were members.

The law of primogeniture was not always observed with equal strictness, though it was naturally followed from Humbert I. to Thomas I. But, in that age of violence, it was a supreme necessity that the government of a state or fief should be placed in the strongest hands; and the interests of a young prince in his minority were in repeated instances sacrificed to the common welfare of the country, or rather of the dynasty itself. Though similar usurpations occur more rarely in the annals of Savoy than perhaps in those of any other European state, owing to the strong family feeling, and to the loyalty and uprightness of most of those princes, still we meet with flagrant instances, in which, what we should now consider the common rules of honesty, were departed from for the sake of expediency, generally with the consent of the nation, and the eventual acquiescence of the injured parties themselves. This happened especially during the half-century elapsing between the death of Thomas I. and the accession of Amadeus V. (1233–1285.)

Thomas I., greatly burdened with his nine sons, after destining his eldest, Amadeus, to the succession, and palming as many of the others as he could upon

the Church, provided for some of the remaining by means of appanages.

Humbert, the second son, died young, in 1223 or 1225, fighting with the Teutonic knights against the idolaters in Prussia. William, the fifth, was bishop elect of Valence, and afterwards of Liège: the sixth, another Amadeus, became bishop of Maurienne, and Boniface, the ninth, bishop of Belley, rose to the dignity of Primate of England. Thomas, the third son, and Peter and Philip, the seventh and eighth, were also intended for the Church, and the last-named was even raised to the Metropolitan See of Lyons.

The only one unprovided for was the fourth son, Aymon, and to him Thomas I. had given vast possessions between the Alps, the Arve, the Lake of Geneva, and the Vevayse, that is, the whole or the best part of Chablais and Lower Valais. As he moreover perceived that Thomas and Peter evinced but little inclination for clerical offices, and sought distinction in a warlike career, he also made them liberal bequests of lands and castles. After his death, in 1233, some of these princes, especially Aymon and Peter, showed themselves dissatisfied with their lot, and even affected to disbelieve the genuineness of their father's will.

Feuds arose thus between them and their eldest brother, now the reigning Count, Amadeus IV., which were only settled at Chillon, in 1234, July 23rd, when the Count greatly reduced his paternal inheritance by ample concessions to his brothers.

After thus yielding to the demands of Aymon and

Peter, Amadeus IV. could be no less liberal to Thomas II., who had always sided with him in all these contentions, and had been mainly instrumental in their termination. To him he therefore granted the whole of his Piedmontese lands, "from Avigliana downwards," that is, keeping the Valley of Susa for himself; at this time however nearly all the rest of Piedmont had been wrenched from the grasp of Savoy.

Aymon died, a leper, in 1242, and was buried at Villeneuve, near Chillon, in a hospital he had founded there. Peter and Thomas, together with their ecclesiastical brothers, were raised to high destinies in England, in Flanders, all over Europe. Nevertheless the insatiable demands, especially of Peter, gave rise to new dissensions at the death of Amadeus IV., during the minority of his son Boniface, whom he had left under the guardianship of Thomas. These differences were only settled by the mediation of the three bishops of the family, on the 16th of February, 1258.

Boniface died without issue, in 1263; and as Humbert, the second son of Thomas I., had also died young and childless, the next in order of age would have been Thomas II. He had also died, in 1259, but his three sons, Thomas III., Amadeus V., and Louis, were living, and the eldest was the legitimate heir of Savoy. He was, however, only fifteen years old, and was perhaps, together with his brothers, at that time a prisoner, or hostage, in the hands of the people of Asti. These circumstances, and the great achievements and brilliant virtues of Peter, seemed to

authorize the occupation of the throne on the part of this latter, in 1263; this first usurpation was followed up by a similar abuse of power, in 1268, when again Philip I. was called to the throne, relinquishing his sacred dignity as Archbishop of Lyons.

At the death of Philip I., in 1285, the issue of Thomas II. were at last allowed to come by their own. The eldest son of Thomas II., called Thomas III., had died since 1282; but he had left several sons, on the eldest of whom, Philip, afterwards the first Prince of Achaia, the succession devolved. But here again his extreme youth (he was but seven or eight years old) was deemed a hindrance, and his uncle Amadeus V., second son of Thomas II., was allowed to take possession of a throne, on which his posterity continued to sit, to the exclusion of the elder branch, Philip's successors.

It was with a view to make amends for this infringement of undoubted rights, that Amadeus V. granted, as an appanage to Philip, all that the House of Savoy still possessed in Piedmont, with the exception of Aosta, which was always considered part of the Burgundian dominions, and of Susa, by means of which Amadeus secured a free entrance into Italy. At the same time the Count of Savoy reserved to himself the homage which his House had for some time exacted from the Marquises of Saluzzo and Montferrat, for some fiefs they held from that House. Amadeus thus placed his nephew nearly, but not quite, on the same conditions which had been allowed

by Amadeus IV. to Thomas II., about fifty years before. The limits of Piedmont were now fixed, not at Avigliana, as in 1234, but "from Rivoli downwards," and the appanage was granted on stricter terms of feudal dependence. Amadeus V. moreover, although he contemplated some arrangement of that nature at his accession, in 1285, continued nevertheless to govern Piedmont in his own name, and without reference to his nephews, during the minority of Philip; so that it was only in 1295 that he was at last compelled, by the remonstrances of the powerful friends of his nephews, to do them partial justice, by sending them to the government of the provinces allotted to them, in the early part of that year*.

At the time of his accession in 1285, Amadeus V. likewise terminated his long contests with his brother Louis, by investing him with the barony of Vaud. By these various concessions, and by his testamentary dispositions, the same Amadeus thus gave permanence to the partition of the domains of Savoy into three states; at the same time he settled the order of succession for the future, on the strict law of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females.

In sheer despite of this last clause, on the death of Edward, the eldest son of Amadeus V., in 1329, some pretensions seem to have been put forward by his daughter, Joan, wife of John III., Duke of Brittany,—

* Datta, Storia de' Principi di Savoia, del Ramo d'Acaia, Signori del Piemonte, i. 22; and Documenti, ii. 20–27.

pretensions which she, being childless, bequeathed to Philip, Duke of Orleans, son of Philip VI. of Valois, King of France, thereby involving her family in long contentions with that court in after-times. Her claims were however disregarded at this moment, and Aymon brother of Edward was placed on the throne. There were even traditions to the effect that the "States General" of Savoy rather drily declared to Joan, "que nulle fillie ne femme ne doibt hériter*;" or, even more contemptuously, "que les états de Savoie ne tomboient jamais de lance en quenouille†." There may be doubts as to States General, properly so called, being assembled at such an early period; but a writer, who has given the most diligent attention to the subject, considers that even mere tradition cannot be too unceremoniously dismissed‡. For the rest, the exclusion of females was contemplated in the dispositions of Amadeus V., the father of Edward and Aymon,—dispositions to which both those princes had solemnly acceded in 1324§. The law of primogeniture was not always observed with equal strictness among the princes of the House of Piedmont or Achaia; and the disorders arising from this cause, no less than from a deep sense of the injustice to which they had been made victims, rankling in their hearts from generation to generation, engendered an antagonism between the

* Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie, Mon. Hist. Patriæ, i. 251.

† Grillet, Dictionnaire Historique des Départements du Mont Blanc et du Léman, Introduction Historique, i. 61.

‡ Sclopis, Stati Generali del Piemonte e della Savoia, pp. 19–41.

§ Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, iii. 29.

two branches of the same family, which led to frequent collision, and at last to a tragic catastrophe, the death of Philip, eldest son of James, second Prince of Achaia, in 1368.

Notwithstanding the dissensions of Savoy at this epoch, it may be safely asserted that there was, on the whole, nowhere a better-behaved or more thrifty and orderly House, nowhere one less divided against itself. The ambition of its princes, it would seem, was less of a personal than of a domestic, clannish character. They were less keenly tormented by thirst of dominion than those of any other royal line. Though evidence of a high aspiring genius was exhibited by Peter II. or Amadeus V., we have also many instances, as in Humbert III., Philip, and Aymon, of princes reluctantly stepping out of retirement, and taking the cares of royalty upon themselves from a mere sense of duty. Even in later times, from Amadeus VIII., who successively resigned both the ducal and the papal dignity, in the fifteenth century, down to the final act of Charles Albert at Novara, in 1849, the House of Savoy has given perhaps the most frequent examples of voluntary abdications, very generally prompted by sheer weariness of worldly greatness, and never revoked or even regretted, except in the solitary case of Victor Amadeus II., the first King of Sardinia, whose melancholy weakness and capriciousness arose rather from uxorious dotage, than from actual repining for the glory that had departed from him.

It was owing to this self-denial, to this readiness of

the different members of the family to refer all ambition to the greatest possible increment and emolument of the House itself, that we meet here with but rare instances of those startling tragedies which stare at us from the pages of the history of other dynasties, especially of those Visconti, Este, and Medici, whose sovereignty was grounded rather on tyrannical usurpation than traditional feudal descent, and relied consequently on mere violence and bloodshed.

In the midst of those long and frequent minorities which afflicted the House of Savoy, and which more than other causes retarded its progress and jeopardized its existence, no less than seven out of the nineteen Counts we have enumerated came to the throne in their nonage,—Humbert II., Amadeus III., Humbert III., Thomas I., Boniface, Amadeus VI., and Amadeus VIII.; beside three of the Princes of Piedmont, Thomas III., Philip, and Amadeus, and beside the princes of the three first generations, respecting whose reigns nothing positive is known; and yet not only do we meet with no grasping Lacklands, no ruthless Crookbacks, murdering their wards for the sake of their heritage, but the regents of Savoy (during their first period, of the counts, at least) were patterns of uprightness, wisdom, and providence. These praises are especially due to Thomas II., Count of Flanders, the guardian of Boniface, and to Louis of Vaud, guardian of Amadeus VI.

Truly the princes of this House needed all the strength arising from harmony and mutual support. Beside

the internal disorders under which Savoy had to labour in consequence of disputed succession, it had also numberless external evils to contend with.

Owing, as we have seen, its first rise to a marriage, and deriving much of its primitive importance from the ascendancy of a woman, it first emerged from obscurity in the eleventh century,—at an epoch, that is, in which all the lordly families of Burgundy and Italy had attained the same degree of self-control. It found itself therefore at the outset hemmed in and hard-pressed by the lords of Faucigny, Vienne, and Geneva, besides all the archbishops and bishops of Burgundy in its immediate vicinity: in collision with the counts of Provence, the counts and dukes of Burgundy, with the Houses of Zäringen, of Kyburg, and Habsburg on one side of the Alps, as well as with the Houses of Saluzzo and Montferrat, with Visconti and Gonzaga on the other side. With all of these it had to wrestle single-handed; with all of these it had to run the gauntlet of all the great vicissitudes, it had to weather all the storms which changed the fate of Europe,—storms in which most of those rival Houses were doomed to perish; whilst Savoy alone steered on with marvellous steadiness, taking warning from her neighbours' errors, profiting by their disasters, until, at the settling of those troubled waters in the fifteenth century, it had attained a position which subsequent convulsions could not permanently affect.

These general events were, especially—the long struggle between Church and State, between the Empire

and the Papacy, which, under the name of "Wars of Investitures" ravaged Germany and Italy from 1056 to 1125,—to the rise of Italian freedom, the exploits of the Lombard League against the House of Swabia, 1152–1250, and the subsequent anarchy of the Italian cities, the factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines, the wars against the last remnants of feudalism, down to the establishment of local tyranny throughout Lombardy, and the rise of the Visconti of Milan towards 1350, —the expeditions to the East, from the preaching of the first Crusade at Clermont in 1096, to the death of St. Louis of France before Tunis in 1270, to the fall of Acre in 1291, or indeed to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453,—then the convulsions of the Church, the removal of the Papal See to Avignon in 1305, the great Western Schism, from 1378 to 1417, breaking out afresh in 1433, only to be permanently healed in 1449. Finally the clustering together of great fiefs, the formation of mighty monarchies, the sudden rise of formidable neighbours,—new neighbours on the confines of Savoy, who were, in later times, to compel that country to assume a new attitude, to follow an unprecedented line of policy.

In the midst of all this complication of difficulties, and against so great a variety of enemies, Savoy was upheld partly by the signal advantages of her position, partly also by the rare character of her princes. Placed originally astride the Alps, where Burgundy and Lombardy, where the French and Italian people, touched upon one another, she wavered for a long time

between north and south, between east and west, like an eagle hovering near his eyrie, uncertain whither to wing his first flight. The course of events gave her ultimately a southward impulse; Savoy merged into Piedmont, and this strove for ages to become, as it is now, thoroughly Italian.

But it was otherwise in the age more immediately under our present consideration, that of the Counts. During all this period the north held out the promptest chances of success. Rising as it did out of the feudal chaos, Savoy best throve at first in those provinces beyond the Alps, where it had hardly any antagonists beside the other feudal powers which had risen with it,—enemies whom it could always meet on a fair field, and fight with equal weapons. Those Transalpine countries, too, were comparatively obscure and quiet; the din of world-wide faction scarcely reached them; and the advance of one feudal House at the expense of another attracted but little notice, and awakened no great jealousy or resentment.

Hence, north and west of the Alps the progress of the House was almost uninterrupted; and at the time of the promotion of Amadeus VIII. to the rank of a duke in 1416, he had already the power almost of a king; his ducal mantle was made up of by far the broadest patches of Burgundian and Helvetian royalty; and, to all appearance, he had no longer any neighbour who could cause him uneasiness.

But, on the southern side, besides the rivals of Montferrat, of Saluzzo, and Anjou, Savoy had to con-

tend with all religious and political passions run mad. Italy was then, as indeed it has been ever since, the main stage of all faction and strife. Savoy lost ground at the very first start. That March of Italy which Adelaide of Susa transmitted to the posterity of Humbert the White-handed, slipped from their hands immediately upon her demise in 1091; and it was only by the most strenuous exertions, only by matchless patience and perseverance, that the immediate predecessors of Amadeus VIII. and that prince himself won back a part of that hard-contested inheritance.

Still they never lost their hold of their original Alpine perch. Aosta and Susa were never relinquished; and from that high position the princes of Savoy had it in their power to await events, to profit by the first turn in the tide of fortune.

The career of the House of Savoy in Italy is what most directly and especially concerns us. Still the domestic annals of the family, its connections with other feudal or royal Houses, its share in the general European events, however remote, and above all its progress on the other side of the Alps, in those Burgundian lands on which its power was grounded, all bear upon our subject, and are essential to its illustration.

We deem it conducive to the clearness of the subject, to premise all matters referring to the Counts of Savoy beyond the Alps, that our narrative of Piedmontese history under their influence may proceed unimpeded.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COUNTS OF SAVOY.

SINCE a fortunate marriage,—that of Oddo and Adelaide, in 1044,—had made the House of Savoy, it was always favoured in its matrimonial alliances, and placed on a par with the proudest dynasties of Europe.

The two daughters of Adelaide and Oddo,—Bertha and Adelaide,—were wedded, the first to Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, the second to Rudolph of Rheinfeld, Duke of Swabia, who was appointed Rector of Burgundy by the Empress Agnes, widow of Henry III., in 1057, and stood up as a rival to Henry IV. for the imperial crown, and perished gloriously in the fight, by the hand of Godfrey of Bouillon, in 1080.

Humbert II. married his daughter Adelaide to Louis VI. the Fat, of France; Amadeus III. gave his daughter Matilda to Alphonso I. King of Portugal; and Agnes, daughter of Humbert III., had been betrothed to John, son of Henry II. of England, though

she did not survive to the time appointed for her nuptials.

Finally Beatrix, daughter of Thomas I., was united to Raymond Bérenger, the last Count of Provence. She bore him only four daughters, but each of them was destined to wear a queen's diadem.

Margaret, the eldest, was married to Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France, in 1234: two years later, Eleanor, the second, a princess of unmatched beauty (*speciei venustissimæ**), was wedded to Henry III. of England. The two others were also raised to high nuptials in the same royal families,—one united to Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., who was made King of the Romans; the other to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, heir of Provence, and eventually King of Naples.

The advantages accruing to the sons of Thomas I. by these connections far exceeded their brightest expectations. William, who accompanied his niece Queen Eleanor to England, at the time of her wedding, in 1236, and who already bore the title of Bishop of Valence, was well-nigh rewarded with the hand of the heiress of the Earldom of Kent. Failing in this, the King wished successively to raise him to the dignity of Abbot of Westminster, and to the Bishoprics of Winchester and Norwich. Baffled in all these schemes by the stubborn resistance of the clergy of those dioceses, the King gave him at last all his confidence as prime minister and favourite.

* Matth. Paris, Histor. Major, edit. Watts, p. 420.

Boniface, the youngest of the family of Thomas I., obtained the Primacy of England.

On Peter II., the "Little Charlemagne," Henry III. bestowed the manor of Richmond, the wardship of the Earl of Wafrenne, and in later times also the Earldom of Essex; beside large sums of money which enabled him to pursue his mighty schemes of aggrandisement in Savoy and Switzerland.

To Thomas II., whom the favour of the King of France helped to the hand of the Countess of Flanders and Hainault, the English monarch was also liberal of his treasures,—a liberality which he equally extended to Amadeus IV., the reigning Count of Savoy, and in exchange for which England obtained merely some unmeaning forms of purely nominal vassalage, both on the part of Flanders and of some towns in Savoy and Piedmont, especially Susa, Avigliana, Bard, and St. Maurice.

For the accommodation of all these relatives, all frequent visitors to his court, Henry also built, in 1247, the palace in the Strand, known by the name of "the Savoy," a conspicuous edifice, the last remnants of which, with the exception of the chapel, were only removed in 1816, at the time of the construction of Waterloo Bridge.

The honours and gold lavished on these princes gave rise to the greatest animosity amongst a people at no time over-partial to foreigners, and at that time also greatly and justly irritated by the intrusion of a swarm of Italian priests, who, to the number of more

than three hundred, had obtained the richest livings in the Church,—an animosity which finds its vent in almost every page of a contemporaneous historian, who deplores the King's infatuation, calls him "suis durus, alienigenis prodigus*," and inveighs especially against the marriages of so many adventurers from Savoy and Vaud with the wealthiest English heiresses, which he describes as a wish on the King's part to drain the country of its purest blood, or to pollute it by "the admixture of the impure dregs of aliens†."

The uncles of Queen Eleanor however were recommended to Henry by other titles beside her transcendent beauty, and made their way to royal favour by other means beside womanly endearments and courtly intrigues. Henry's bounties were now bestowed on a more high-minded race than the Poitevin minions who had preceded them in the King's favour, or the profligate King's half-brothers who succeeded them. At a time when chivalry gave the tone to society, the sons of Thomas I. bore off the palm in tournaments no less than in more serious encounters. Peter II. for instance, on his first arrival in England, at the head of fifteen of his Savoyards and Vaudois, challenged all the English knights for a tilt at Northampton, in 1241,—a defiance which had to be given up, owing to the prodigious clamour raised by the whole nation at the stranger's presumption. The King him-

* Matth. Paris, p. 825.

† "Volens omnes regni sui nobiles degenerari, atque eorundem sanguinem generosum melanchonicis alienorum fæcibus perturbare." —*Ibid.* p. 852.

self with his own hand conferred the honour of knighthood on Peter, on St. Edward's day of the same year, in the Abbey of Westminster (January 5th).

The very churchmen of the family were fighting men. The Bishop elect of Valence, William, was objected to, as a warlike prelate, by the English clergy. They called him "vir sanguinum," and defeated his election at Winchester, by contending that he had shed blood on the battle-field, which disqualified him for the sacred ministry. Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, now a saint in the Roman calendar, shocked his flock by appearing in his pastoral visits with a steel-plate on his breast: it seems, to judge by the horror Matthew Paris evinces about it, that a "Primatus loricatus" was an unusual sight in England at that time, whatever it might be at Rome or Milan. To the confidence arising from the consciousness of physical strength, the English Primate added certain sallies of temper not calculated to win him popularity. He forgot himself so far as to inflict summary punishment on his refractory priests with his own hand, with such outrageous violence indeed, unless we suspect the historian of exaggeration, as did little credit to his manliness, to say nothing of his apostolical meekness and forbearance*.

And yet, doubtless, the holy man knew how to command other passions better than to restrain his wrath; for many of the noblest and wealthiest ladies in England were consumed in sight of his manly beauty, and

* Matth. Paris, p. 781.

yet he was able to withstand the most dangerous temptations, and left the island as intemerate as he had come*.

For the rest, it was not merely in England that these warrior-priests of Savoy distinguished themselves by their prowess. Both William, Bishop of Valence, and Philip, Archbishop of Lyons, were successively raised to the rank of Gonfaloniere, or leader of the armies of the Church,—at a time that Rome was indeed a church-militant,—and headed the Guelph party against all the might of Frederic II. William, indeed, who bore the name of the "Little Alexander," and who after his retirement from England was made Bishop of Liège by Gregory IX., appeared so formidable to his adversaries, that they cut him off by poison at Viterbo, in 1239.

Nor was it by military virtues alone that most of those nine brothers shone at foreign Courts. As wary and trusty advisers of the King, as leaders of or mediators between parties, their immense activity enabled them to take a prominent share in the great transactions of the times. Peter II. not only bore arms and shed his blood for England against her implacable enemy across the channel, but negotiated an advantageous though not lasting peace with France, in 1258. He was the coolest head and heart amidst the angry passions of the ensuing civil wars in England. But when, in his absence, Simon of Montfort

* Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie: Monum. Hist. Patriæ Script. i. 147.

obtained too great an advantage over the royal party at Lewes, and even took the King prisoner, Peter hastened from Savoy, at the head of an armament, which had cost him well-nigh all that his own states were worth, but which was unfortunately dispersed by storms, and never reached the English shore (A.D. 1264).

On the other hand, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, was not so utterly subservient to the King, to whom he owed his rise, but he put himself at the head of the discontented clergy, and was chiefly instrumental in bringing about that compromise known as "the Provisions of Oxford," which put the liberties of England on a firmer basis than they had hitherto stood upon (A.D. 1258).

Thomas II. also, during the short time he governed his wife's estates in Flanders (1236–1245), conferred a lasting benefit on England, by obtaining for his Flemish subjects a commercial treaty with that country, the ultimate result of which was to transfer to the latter great part of the trade and industry of the Low Countries.

Besides these signal services, which may be gathered from writers unfavourable to the Princes of Savoy, and to which English historians might in more unprejudiced times turn their attention, it must also be observed that the favours of the infatuated English monarch were in more than one instance forced upon them. Peter II. especially, whom even Matthew Paris*

* Hist. Major. p. 578.

calls "vir discretus et circumspectus," repeatedly threw up the titles and dignities, which, he plainly saw, made him and his, objects of popular resentment. He never would bear the titles of Earl of Richmond or of Essex, with which he had been invested. He made every effort to tear himself away from the King, who thought he could not spare him; and it was with the utmost repugnance that he took the command of the castle of Dover, at the time of a threatened French invasion*. He was, at some time at least, a favourite with the English multitude; there are instances on record, when his fine manly countenance and the mere tone of his voice quelled the fury of a London mob in full insurrection†.

Neither Peter nor any of his brothers profited by the facility the King's favour afforded of improving their fortunes by an English marriage. Not one of them—not even the English Primate—closed their days in a land which viewed their success with jealousy; and although many of their descendants were often induced to visit England, where it was always in their power to advance their interests, none of them ever established a permanent residence in the "Savoy Palace."

Many of the Savoyard and Vaudois gentlemen in their suite, however, settled in England at this epoch,

* "Ipsoque (Henrico) instante importunius recepit dictus Petrus iterum Castrum Dovere, licet invitus et renitens, custodiendum."—Matt. Paris, Hist., p. 579.

† Vulliemin, Chillon, Etude Historique, ii.; Pierre de Savoie, p. 72.

and the names of several of them—especially the Grandson, Butiller, La Flechière, etc., were, with slight change, perpetuated in the families of Grandissons, Butlers, and Fletchers.

The connection of Savoy with France and England continued in later times, and the Princes of Savoy for a long time found themselves at home in London no less than in Paris. Edward I. of England offered his daughter Joan to Amadeus V., in 1294, in order to obtain his support in his contest with France. But although Amadeus, like his uncles Peter II. and Thomas II., indifferently took part with either Court, and more frequently and successfully mediated between them, it became obvious in progress of time that proximity and nationality led Savoy to a greater intimacy and a closer community of interests with the French dynasty; so that the sons of that same Amadeus V., Edward and Aymon, and their successors, the Green and Red Counts, Amadeus VI. and VII., almost invariably enlisted on the French side throughout those long wars which France waged against England for the best part of two centuries.

It was thus as an ally to the King of France, Philip IV. (the Fair), that Edward of Savoy, a youth only in his twentieth year, led his father's forces into Flanders, where he won his spurs at Mons-en-Puelle (September 1304), and was knighted on the battle-field by the King's own hand. He appeared on the same fields, under the same standards, leading his ban, or feudal

* Vulliemin, Chillon, p. 94.

host, as Count of Savoy, in 1328, and had a share in another victory, obtained by Philip VI. (of Valois), over the same Flemish enemies, at Mont Cassel, on the 24th of August, 1328; he was afterwards an almost yearly visitor in France, and died there, at Gentilly, near Paris, on the 4th of November, 1329.

His brother and successor, Aymon, being solicited for his alliance by Edward III. of England, and by the same Philip of Valois, gave preference to the latter, and fought in the French ranks with the flower of his Savoyards from 1338 to 1340. He also acted as his plenipotentiary in the treaty of peace of the latter year.

By that rare and almost miraculous activity which characterized all these Counts of Savoy, they always found leisure, always could spare men and money, in the midst of incessant wars of their own, to lend assistance to their great French ally.

Amadeus VI., the Green Count, son of Aymon, was in France, aiding King John, in 1355. He hastened to the rescue of the Dauphin, after the disaster of Poitiers, and the captivity of the French king, in the following year. His son, Amadeus VII., the Red Count, still a boy rather than a youth (he was born in 1360), highly signalized himself in the wars which the French, during the miserable reign of Charles VI., carried on against the Flemings, who had then at their head the great brewer of Ghent, Philip van Artevelde, and were backed by all the might of England. The Red Count may not have fought at the battle of Rosbec, where the Gantois were crushed (November 26,

1382) as Guichenon asserts, on somewhat questionable authority*; but there is no doubt that he was, three years later, present at the siege of Bruckburg, near Gravelines, and there gave proofs of high courage —even if we are not to accept all the brilliant feats of arms, related at prodigious length, and with surprising minuteness, by his chronicler, Perrinet du Pin†, that at a tournament held before the walls of the beleaguered place, during an armistice, the young Red hero defeated a boasting English knight, the Earl of Huntingdon, in thirty-six encounters with the lance, and also beat the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke successively with sword and battle-axe; till at length, not satisfied with these advantages, he overwhelmed by his courtesy and liberality those adversaries whom he had already subdued by his valour.

The Savoy princes of the branch of Vaud rendered scarcely less important services to their kinsmen of the house of France. Louis, afterwards first Baron of Vaud, was a companion to Louis IX. and to his son Philip III. the Bold, both at court and on the field. Louis II., his son, fought under the Savoy standard, with Edward, at Mont Cassel, and was wounded in the action. If we may believe Guichenon‡, the same prince directed the operations of the siege of Douai, and took that place, in 1340. He was at the battle

* Guichenon, Royale Maison de Savoie, ii. 6.

† Perrinet du Pin, Chronique du Comte Rouge, Mon. Hist. Patr. Script. i. 418–447.

‡ Guichenon, Royale Maison de Savoie, i. 393–401.

of Crecy (at which Sismondi*, by a strange mistake, numbers Aymon, Count of Savoy, among the killed on the French side), and with his knights received all the onset of the cavalry led by the Prince of Wales (August 26, 1346); finally, he was one of the most strenuous defenders of Calais against Edward III. in that and the following year.

There is no doubt that this devotion of all the princes of Savoy to French interests was called forth by frequent intermarriages of their House with the royal family; though it was certainly not for the good of the smaller state that its rulers so anxiously sued for the honour of an alliance with the stronger one.

Humbert II., as we have said, had married his daughter, Adelaide, to Louis VI. the Fat, of France. And as Humbert's successor, Amadeus III., had for a long time no male issue, the French king, at the instigation of his ambitious wife, seized some important fortresses in Savoy, and put forth claims to the succession. But the death of Louis the Fat, and the birth of an heir to Amadeus III., defeated a scheme which might have proved fatal to the independent existence of Savoy.

In later times, and when Savoy had utterly sacrificed the English to the French interest, Joan, daughter of Edward, married to John III. duke of Brittany, put

* Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vi. 69. Aymon, Count of Savoy, died at Montmeillan, June 23, 1343, three years before Crecy; and the Count of Savoy at the latter epoch was Amadeus VI., a boy twelve years old, who most assuredly did not die at Crecy.—See Guichenon, i. 393.

forth, as we have seen, the most unreasonable claims to her father's succession, in 1329. Her demands were set aside, and Aymon was called to the throne. But yet, and although Joan left no heirs of her body, she was unnatural enough to bequeath her pretended rights to Philip, duke of Orleans, son of Philip VI., and thus involved her own family in long disputes with those grasping Valois, always so glad of any pretext that might favour their own aggrandisement.

It was not long before that same house of Valois crossed that of Savoy in its advancement. Amadeus VI., the Green Count, had, in his minority, been betrothed to Joan of Burgundy, and the duchy and county of that name might, by this alliance, have been united to the crown of Savoy. The young princess had already been consigned to her new relatives, and was brought up in one of the castles of Savoy, till she should reach the proper age for the celebration of the nuptial ceremony. But John, King of France, who administered Burgundy in the name of the infant duke, Philip de Rouvre, son of his wife, obtained from Savoy a dissolution of the marriage; and while he thus secured Burgundy for his own family, he scarcely made amends to Savoy by the gift of a French princess, Bonne of Bourbon, whom the Green Count married, in 1355.

Like Amadeus VI., his son Amadeus VII. obtained also the hand of a French princess; and the ambition and mutual jealousy of mother and daughter-in-law, Bonne of Bourbon and Bonne of Berry, not only

caused frequent disturbances during the short reign of the latter-named prince, the Red Count, who, with all his gallantry, allowed his mother an undue control over his actions, but led perhaps to the tragic catastrophe to which he fell a victim in the flower of his age. He was, in his thirtieth year (1391), poisoned by the drugs of a quack-doctor from Bohemia, named John of Granville, who had offered to give him a "luxuriant head of hair and a florid complexion;"—a catastrophe which gave rise to suspicions, prosecutions, executions, and even a trial by duel: and Bonne of Bourbon was suspected, not unjustly perhaps, of tampering with Granville, to induce him to disable her son by his medicaments, so as to check his warlike spirit and remove him from the cares of government, which she too gladly took upon herself*. The half-tragic, half-comic fate of the prince, the particulars of which are wrapped in impenetrable mystery, and the court factions to which it gave rise, cast gloom and confusion over the early years of the reign of Amadeus VIII., and accustomed Savoy to the frequent meddling of France in her affairs,—an interference which had but too pernicious effects, when after the death of Amadeus VIII. Providence had withdrawn its countenance from the house of Savoy.

The share taken by the princes of Savoy in scenes of strife and peril abroad sufficiently testify their adventurous spirit. All the sons of Thomas I., and especially Peter II. and Thomas of Flanders,—the son

* Cibrario, Studi Storici, i. 92.

of the latter, Amadeus V., who obtained the title of "the great,"—his two gallant sons Edward and Aymon, might all be set up as heroes of romance. The names of Alexander, Roland, and Charlemagne, which they assumed either in jest or in earnest, were but too much in keeping with the spirit of the times. Those of Green and Red Counts, by which Amadeus VI. and VII., son and grandson of Aymon, are best known, taken from the colours they wore on the lists, are equally characteristic. The Green Count, especially, was universally hailed as the gentlest knight of his age; and the famous tournament in which he first appeared in his green suit-of-arms, at Chambéry (January 5, 1348), when he was only in his fourteenth year, was for a long time the pattern on which the proudest courts of Europe fashioned themselves for similar feats*.

But the princes of Savoy, however knightly, were not knights above all things. They displayed but little of that restless, reckless, impulsive, chivalrous spirit, which brought other small states to the verge of utter ruin. A certain coolness and circumspection, that wary and patient policy which "looks before it leaps," which "strikes before it threatens," at a very early epoch presided over their councils. If there was any hare-brained impetuosity in the whole line, it was only in the instance of Edward, who died young, and who met with the only serious check we shall have to record.

* Costa de Beauregard, Histoire de la Maison Royale de Savoie, i. 173.

They were, rather, of that race of men who never know when they are beaten,—who are always able to repair losses, and to turn even reverses to account. Independent of mere chance, of lucky marriages or rich inheritances, to which this, as well as so many other princely houses owed their increment,—independent of the material strength of their Alpine fastness, and the task it imposed upon its holders as guardians of the most important European passes, there is no doubt that much of the steady progress of Savoy was owing to the cool temper, the craft and moderation, no less than to the high spirit, the daring and energy, of the princes themselves,—all of whom, with scarcely an exception, were eminently fitted by political virtues for the difficulties of their peculiar position; to all of whom the firmness of those rocky Alpine passes had easily communicated itself.

Aymon and Amadeus VIII. both went down to posterity with the auspicious title of the "peaceful" —the very noblest a prince may aspire to, when he has proved that his love of peace is fully equal to his ability for war. Cautiousness was quite as strong in this family as acquisitiveness. There was no Charles le Téméraire amongst them—at least amongst the Counts,—willing to tempt Providence by throwing all his chances on the hazard of a die. A sort of patriotism, a rare feeling with men of royal descent, attached them to the home of their forefathers, to their gloomy Maurienne and barren Savoy. No favour of French and English monarchs induced them to settle abroad.

Unlike the Habsburgs, who rose, and soon came into collision with them, they were allured by no prospect of distant acquisition, they were driven by no force of adversity, from their rugged ancestral haunts. They were Savoyards to the heart's core, hardly able to breathe out of sight of their mountains.

Piety and gallantry made them crusaders. Yet were they, perhaps, the most prudent and discreet amongst the warriors of the Cross. They acquired fame, and it was perhaps in their power to found states, in the East. They bore the titles of Princes of Achaia and Morea, and the dukes, their successors, laid claims to the kingdoms of Cyprus, Armenia, and Jerusalem, and to the principality of Antiochia. But the Counts never suffered such glittering baubles to dazzle them; they never allowed the promotion of their younger branches abroad to interfere with the vital interests of the dynasty at home; they did not, like the Counts of Toulouse and Flanders, or like their neighbours of Montferrat, drop the substance of a western coronet for the mere shadow of an oriental diadem.

Thus Humbert II. was not deaf to the voice that set all Europe astir by the promulgation of the first crusade at Clermont. He had made ready for a start to Palestine in 1097, and propitiated the heavenly powers by donations to the Church. But he looked about him; he beheld his states, particularly on the Italian side, a prey to the invasion of numerous pretenders; the cause of Heaven was to him of less moment than

the care of his own interests; and he suffered Godfrey of Bouillon to deliver Jerusalem without him,—at the utmost, as some writers think, acquitting himself of his vow by a pilgrimage to Rome*.

Amadeus III., his son, placed in happier circumstances, was perhaps reminded of his father's engagements. He had already been once to the Holy Land, probably as a pilgrim, when, on the passage of Eugene III. through Susa, in 1147, he took the cross from the hands of that pontiff. He had had, it will be remembered, some disputes with Louis VI. the Fat, of France, on account of the pretensions of his sister Joan to the succession of Savoy; but after the death of that king, his heir, Louis VII. the Young, made amends to Amadeus for his father's attempted usurpation, won his friendship, and induced him to join the French host in that expedition to Palestine, which bears the name of the Second Crusade,—a disastrous expedition, in which the youthful French king lost his honour in a vain pursuit after glory, and the Count of Savoy his life. He died, on his homeward journey, at Nicosia, isle of Cyprus, on the 1st of April, 1148.

More than a century and a half elapsed before a Count of Savoy again appeared in the East.

In 1316, it is supposed, Amadeus V., the Great, led a considerable force to the rescue of the island of Rhodes, beleaguered by the Turks, and compelled them to raise the siege. This is one of the greatest exploits in the annals of Savoy, unless it be a mere

* Cibrario, Storia della Monarchia di Savoia, vol. i. 170.

fable. It was in this expedition, it is said, that Amadeus V. substituted the "white cross on a red field," for the imperial eagle, which was the original cognizance of Savoy: and at the same juncture that he assumed that mysterious device F.E.R.T. or FERT, which has so sorely puzzled the heralds; but which some writers look upon as the initials of the words "Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit," telling the whole tale of Amadeus's expedition.

Modern criticism however has found, that the "cross of Savoy" was used before the time of Amadeus V., probably by his uncle Peter II., the Little Charlemagne, and some of his family; whilst the motto F. E. R. T. was first adopted by Amadeus VI., the Green Count, as a device for his "Order of the Collar," afterwards the "Order of the Annonciade," instituted in 1352; it only appears in the seals of Savoy under Amadeus VIII., and may at the utmost have been used by the Red Count, Amadeus VII., during his father's lifetime, towards 1373*.

Notwithstanding the vague uncertainty hanging about this famous deliverance of Rhodes, the Savoy chroniclers seem bent on making a crusading hero of Amadeus V. It was with a view to induce Pope John XXII. to preach a crusade, they say, that the same Amadeus went to Avignon; where he died, in 1323, October 16th. But it may be questioned whether either the count or even the pontiff troubled their heads

* Cibrario e Promis, Sigilli de' Principi di Savoia, part i. xi., xiii. 39, 49.

much about Palestine; for what concerns the former, at any rate, it seems certain that he had other matters at heart,—his quarrels with the Dauphin of Vienne and with King Robert of Naples, which he hoped to settle by Papal interference*.

His younger brother, Louis, afterwards the first Baron of Vaud, is also described, we hardly know on what authority†, as having accompanied Louis IX. of France, in that expedition against Tunis which cost the sainted monarch his life: a natural son of the same Amadeus V., by name Arthur, perished in Syria.

But more historical, no less than more epic, was the voyage of Amadeus VI., the Green Count, to the East in 1366.

The Crusades had by this time become merely defensive wars. The Ottomans had swept over Asia, invaded the Eastern Empire as far as Adrianople, in the very heart of its European possessions (1359). Settled now on the borders of the Archipelago and the Hellespont, they threatened the west by land and sea. John Palæologus, the Grecian Emperor, uttered a cry of distress, and, with a view to obtain the succour of the western potentates, he flattered Pope Urban V. with false hopes of bringing himself and his Greek subjects into the bosom of the Catholic Church. The Pope once more raised aloft the holy

* Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, lib. iv. cap. vi. vol. ii. 334.

† Costa de Beauregard, Maison Royale de Savoie, i. 98.—Verdeil, Histoire du Canton de Vaud, i. 194.

standard of Clermont; John II. King of France, Peter of Cyprus, and Amadeus VI. of Savoy took the cross at Avignon, in 1363. Of all these the last alone was true to his engagement: John of France died in the Savoy Palace in London, in April, 1364. The King of Cyprus turned his arms against Alexandria, all intent upon schemes of his own aggrandisement. The Emperor Charles IV., and Louis, King of Hungary, who had promised their aid, held back for various reasons, but especially for the greatest reason, that all Europe was by this time cured of its Palestine fever.

The Green Count was left alone in his enterprise. Besides the sacredness of his vow, he was possibly actuated by domestic considerations. John Palæologus was related to him: he was the son of Giovanna, afterwards Anna, of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus V., who had, in 1325, been married to Andronicus III., the younger, and borne him John, the reigning emperor.

For the sake of this Eastern uncle, then, Amadeus VI. assembled a powerful armament at Venice, sailed on the 20th or 21st of June, 1366, coasted Dalmatia and Morea, and entering the Dardanelles, bravely possessed himself of Gallipoli (August 15th). Having thus cut his way through the main strongholds of the enemy, he proceeded to Constantinople, where he intended to join his uncle the Emperor. John Palæologus, however, had gone to solicit the aid of Louis of Hungary, and on his return had fallen in with

Stratimir II., king of Bulgaria, with whom the Emperor was then at peace, but who nevertheless took him prisoner, at Widdin, either to avenge the defeats which Alexander his father had suffered from the Greeks, or to extort a rich ransom from his illustrious captive.

Amadeus could have no object nearer at heart than the Emperor's rescue. He sailed into the Black Sea early in October, touched at Sisopolis, took Mesembria, and after the conquest of several other towns, laid siege to Varna, the main stronghold of the Bulgarians. This soon brought Stratimir to terms; and the very first result of the negotiation was the release of the Emperor, who joined Amadeus at Mesembria, on the 21st of December.

The two Christian princes tarried at Sisopolis until the 20th of March, 1367, when they returned to Constantinople. The Count of Savoy was now fully bent on pursuing his advantage against the Turks, and he indeed captured some obscure fortresses on the coast of the Sea of Marmora; but that same jealousy of the Greeks, of which the crusaders had invariably to complain, at every step thwarted the efforts of the Latins. The Emperor himself, notwithstanding his ties of kindred, never forgave Amadeus the debt of gratitude under which his liberation had laid him. He also showed himself loth to fulfil the promise he had given the Pope and all Christendom, with respect to his abjuration of the Greek tenets. He merely offered to send ambassadors to Rome, to treat about a reconciliation between the two churches.

The month of June was now approaching, and with it the expiration of the term of one year, to which the sea-captains and other mercenaries had bound themselves. The Count of Savoy had therefore to declare himself satisfied with this compromise of the Emperor, and he sailed with the Greek Legates, on the 4th of June, 1367, leaving the treacherous Greeks to settle their quarrels with the infidels as they could.

He landed at Venice on the 31st of July; hence proceeded to Viterbo, and met Pope Urban V., who in that same year had restored the Pontifical See to Italy, and accompanied him to Rome, there to receive the pontiff's praises and blessings—the only reward for his highly expensive, no less than glorious, expedition.

If so barren of results were these Eastern exploits of the Counts of Savoy of the main line, neither did the princes of the branch of Piedmont obtain more permanent advantages in Grecian lands, notwithstanding the titles they took from their dominions of Achaia and Morea.

During the reign of Amadeus V. the Great, in Savoy, Philip, his nephew, to whom he had ceded Piedmont, had gone to Rome for the first great jubilee of 1300. There, in the following year, he married Isabel, daughter and heiress of William of Ville-Hardouin, last Prince of Achaia and Morea; Isabel was at that time the widow of Florent, Count of Hainault.

With a view to make good his claim to Isabel's inheritance, Philip asked for an investiture of those

principalities from the House of Anjou: as at that time Philip of Anjou, duke of Tarentum, was contending with the Emperor Andronicus II. for the throne of Constantinople. He then set out for Greece, toward the end of the same year, 1301, and for some time lorded it over the cities of Corinth, Patras, and Klarenza: but ill-success amongst the Greeks, and anxiety for his possessions in the West, brought him back to Piedmont, in 1304. There was, at this time, a strife in Piedmont between the houses of Savoy and Anjou. Philip of Achaia made, in 1307, a cession of his Eastern possessions to Charles II. of Anjou, in exchange for the cession of the county of Alba and other territories; but the terms of that compact were never observed on either side, and both parties, while they contended in Italy, were not unwilling to leave their differences as to those Eastern principalities in abeyance.

In later times however both the Green and the Red Counts, anxious to rid themselves of their troublesome cousins of Piedmont, and to re-unite their possessions on both sides of the Alps, repeatedly contemplated the recovery of those remote possessions, in behalf of those princes, who had never dropped their empty titles of Achaia and Morea.

The House of Anjou, now sadly divided against itself, had withdrawn from competition, and the famous Queen Joan of Naples had even sold Achaia and Morea—or at least such rights as she had on them—to the Knights of St. John. But the Pope

(or anti-pope) Clement VII. annulled that deed; and the rights of the House of Savoy, or Piedmont, to those distant lands were fully re-established in 1387. The Red Count, Amadeus VII., therefore set on foot an armament, with which Amadeus, the third Prince of Achaia, was to sail for the East in 1391.

In that year, however, it will be remembered, the catastrophe happened which carried off the Red Count. That blundering Bohemian quack-doctor, John of Granville, was charged with wilfully poisoning the Count: and Amadeus of Achaia, together with Bonne of Bourbon, wife of the Green, and mother of the Red Count, were suspected of complicity in the murder. There was, indeed, but little foundation in these surmises, which arose either from some dark hints thrown out by the dying prince in the hour of agony, or from some confessions wrenched by torture from the mouth of the doctor, and solemnly disavowed by him on his death-bed. There were also idle tales of some amours between Amadeus of Achaia and Bonne of Bourbon (the latter had been married no less than forty years previously, the former was a youth in his twenty-seventh year); but, however ill-grounded, these dark insinuations, and the disorders arising from these and other causes during the minority of Amadeus VIII., afforded the Prince of Achaia good pretexts for putting off, and at last altogether throwing up, that Eastern expedition to which, with the peculiar shrewdness of his race, he had always shown great repugnance*.

* Datta, Principi d' Acaia, lib. iii. cap. iii., iv., vol. i. 276, 282.

He remained thus satisfied with the bare titles of those Grecian domains; and the titles were all that passed over to his brother, Louis, the last of the Piedmontese line,—all that was handed over to Amadeus VIII., when he inherited from that line in 1418.

Thus did the princes of Savoy, in olden times, instinctively guard against the temptations of unprofitable ambition.

Yet, although they knew at all times how to concentrate their energies on the pursuit of domestic interests, and were not often to be seduced by the glitter of brilliant achievements, or splendid acquisitions abroad, they did no less, from the very outset, exercise considerable influence over the destinies of far-off countries, and step forward, now as principal auxiliaries, now as supreme mediators between the greatest potentates.

We have seen Humbert the White-handed, the founder of the dynasty, acting as chief instrument in the submission of the realm of Burgundy to the Emperor Conrad the Salic in 1034.

Less than half a century later, in 1077, the grandson of Conrad, Henry IV., came as a humble suitor to the daughter-in-law of Humbert, the Countess Adelaide of Turin, whose daughter he had married; and as he had given that high-minded princess just cause of offence, he had now to purchase her goodwill at a high rate. She asked from him a grant of five bishoprics in Italy; but ultimately contented herself with the gift of some Burgundian lands, not clearly

defined in the records of the times, but supposed by some writers to consist of the territory of Bugey, diocese of Belley, and part of the old province of Bresse*, or by others, of Chablais and Lower Valais†.

The brilliant part played by the Countess Adelaide as mediatrix between Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII., as well as the connection of her descendants with Henry's imperial successors, whose vassals the princes of Savoy, nominally at least, always considered themselves, are matters more immediately belonging to Italian history, and therefore reserved by us to another part of our narrative.

Suffice it for the present to state that in Italy no less than in France the Counts of Savoy exercised an influence far above their real rank, and that it was by moderation rather than valour—it was as peacemakers rather than partisans, that they rose in the esteem of the world.

At the time of Amadeus VI., Savoy was already a first-rate power, and it was as an equal that the Green Count stepped forward to the rescue of an emperor of the East: it was as a patron that he marched to the conquest of Naples in behalf of the Princes of Anjou —an enterprise in which he was cut off, in the midst of a brilliant career, in 1383. Nevertheless the most glorious event in his reign was the pacification of Venice with Genoa,—an event so entirely episodical

* Muratori, Annali d' Italia, *ad ann.* 1096, 1097.—Guichenon Royale Maison de Savoie, i. 210.

† Vulliemin, Chillon, 65.

in the annals of his house and of Piedmont, that we may perhaps as well briefly relate it here, as we shall scarcely have another opportunity of returning to it.

The fourth war between those two emulous maritime republics had broken out in the East, in 1372, for the possession of the isle of Tenedos, at that time the key of the Dardanelles; it had, after various vicissitudes, been brought to the Venetian lagoons, under the walls of Chioggia, and the Lion of St. Mark was sunk in despair.

From that despair it was only roused by the idle boast of Peter Doria, the Genoese admiral, that "he would bridle the four bronze horses on the square of St. Mark." This taunt, and the heroism of Vittor Pisani, as every one knows, saved Venice. Again and again the fortune of war changed sides. Half the powers of Italy, and of Europe, were successively engaged in the contest: the Carrara of Padua, the Scala of Verona, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the city of Ancona, the Queen of Naples, and the King of Hungary, sided with Genoa; the Visconti of Milan, the King of Cyprus, and Leopold of Austria took part for Venice.

The commerce of the world languished; the Turks exulted at a strife in which the best blood of Christendom, the best blood of their dread maritime enemies, was spilt.

Many princes, and even pontiffs, had in vain tendered their good offices to put an end to that nine years' dispute.

It was at length referred to Amadeus VI. of Savoy, a prince well known at Venice since his Eastern expedition of 1366; in whom the rulers of the Adriatic republic professed to have greater confidence, than in any other great monarch in the world*.

The Green Count used his influence to good effect; and peace was signed in his good city of Turin, on the 6th of August, 1381.

Still we must go down to later times, and seek the real spirit that guided the destinies of this House in the transactions that illustrated the reign of Amadeus VIII., the last of the Counts, and first of the Dukes.

It was the rare boast of that prince to have blessed his own states with profound peace, at a period in which all Europe was more than ever convulsed with war; when, in France, the factions of Armagnacs and Burgundians aggravated the worst evils of those never-ending English wars; when Italy was distracted by the conflicting ambition of Milan and Naples; when there were two pretenders to the Empire, and the Church was divided between two and even three Popes.

Ever with the hand on the hilt of his sword—for even the task of peace-maker was fraught with difficulty and danger, and required a strong hand, no less than a wise head; strong enough to lend assistance to any one of his friends who needed it (to the Duke of Burgundy against the Duke of Bourbon,—to

* Letter of Federico Cornaro to Amadeus VI., in Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 350.

the Emperor Sigismund against the Hussites,—to the King of Cyprus against the Turks), and so efficient an aid, indeed, as to send in some instances no less than 20,000 combatants into the field*, he aspired at home to the glory of a legislator,—abroad, to that of a friendly adviser and arbitrator.

His connection with the House of Burgundy (he had married Mary, daughter of Philip the Bold, and sister of John the Fearless) could not fail to mix him up in the terrible French factions of that house against that of Orléans, which cost France so much of its best blood; but his "ambition," as a French historian† expresses it, "was to become the mediator of a peace in France," and that noble ambition was gratified. He repeatedly stepped in between the combatants; and the treaties of Bicêtre (November 2, 1410) and of Bourges (July 15, 1412) were mainly due to his generous exertions. Those treaties, indeed, proved only short truces; but he had no less a share in the final peace of Arras, concluded on the 21st of September, 1435, from which France dates her first recovery from utter ruin.

It was not in the power of Amadeus VIII., nor of any other man, to foresee that the first use reorganized France would make of her power would be to turn it against Savoy.

Amadeus VIII. was equally indefatigable in his pacification of Italy, though there, faithful to the tra-

* Costa de Beauregard, Maison-Royale de Savoie, i. 255.

† Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vii. 493.

ditional policy of his house, he had perhaps, as we shall see, too eager an eye to his own advantage, and exhibited too much of the versatility and unscrupulousness of an Italian statesman.

But his best endeavours were turned to the cessation of the great Western Schism, which for forty-nine years tore the Church asunder, to the great scandal of the Christian world. But he became involved in the new dissensions which arose at the election of Eugene IV., and was made Pope in spite of himself, as all his panegyrists assert, in 1439.

The story of Amadeus's pontificate is so unique an event in the annals of the Church and of the world, that, although it was fraught with great consequences for the destinies of Savoy and Piedmont, still we may look upon it as an isolated fact, and give it a place here, where the subject naturally led to it.

Amadeus was already in his fifty-first year; he had occupied the throne of Savoy for forty-eight years,—twenty-five as a count, and twenty-three as a duke,—when, on the 16th of October, 1434, he sought a tranquil sojourn at Ripaille, in Chablais, a sweet spot on the southern bank of Lake Leman, less than a mile to the north-east of Thonon, which had been a Carthusian monastery since 1136, and in which Amadeus himself, in 1411, established an Augustinian fraternity.

In this first retirement from the world he was most probably actuated by sheer weariness of success. His strange resolution has been variously attributed to the loss of his wife, Mary of Burgundy, who has however

been ascertained to have died twelve years before (October 2nd, 1422),—to the death of his eldest son, Amadeus, Prince of Piedmont, in 1431,—to a defeat he himself had suffered in Dauphiny,—and finally to an attempt upon his life, or rather upon his liberty, by one Galois, or Anthony de Sure, a gentleman of Bresse or of Cyprus (so vague are all these statements), who had been bribed to deliver him into the hands of his implacable enemy, the Duke of Bourbon.

There are many also who ascribe that step to a mere shift in his restless and wilful ambition,—to a hidden desire to exchange a dukedom for a papacy.

Facts, however, would seem to point to a different conclusion.

There was nothing in that step in any way irrevocable or irretrievable. Amadeus signed no formal act of abdication; he merely appointed his son Louis as lieutenant in his States, but reserved to himself the management of all important business; he might have re-appeared any day, and resumed the reins of government at Chambéry. He took no holy orders, never qualified himself for church-preferment by clerical or monastic vows. He was followed in his retreat by five or six of his old companions-in-arms, distinguished for wisdom no less than for valour, and these he constituted a Council of State. He lived with them a studious, contemplative life, simple and frugal, but without the least ostentation of mean asceticism. It was the retirement of a well-bred, accomplished gentleman, a scholar and a statesman, no

less than a hermit and a dean of hermits. He enlisted his companions into a chivalrous brotherhood, the basis in later times of the Order of St. Maurice. His visitor Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., was edified by the affability of demeanour and plainness of attire of one who had stepped down from so much greatness, one "so redoubted both in France and Italy*."

He had renounced the pomp and circumstance of royalty, but he had retained the power,—perhaps because incessant employment was necessary to the activity of his mind; but more probably because he was aware of the weakness and fatuity of his son Louis, and was unwilling to launch him alone into the midst of the difficulties which encompassed his throne.

Like Charles V. from the convent of St. Justus (more than a century later), Amadeus, from his solitude on Lake Leman, directed not only the councils of the State of Savoy, but also the business of other countries. It was not merely for the good of the Church and the healing of schism that he exerted himself, where he might be supposed to have looked for the tiara as the ultimate reward of his endeavours. He was equally earnest in the pacification of France, a country which held out no prospect of aggrandisement for himself or for Savoy. The Treaty of Arras, which gave France union and strength, was, as we have seen, signed on the 21st of September, 1435, hardly a year after Amadeus's retirement to Ripaille.

It was the great name of Amadeus, and the per-

* Monod, Amadeus Pacificus, p. 50.

plexities of the Council of Basle, which led to the strange resolution to raise a layman, a widower, and the father of nine children, to the Pontificate.

We attach no importance to the "nolo episcopari" simper of modesty and reluctance with which Amadeus received the announcement of his exaltation. Affectation was here mere matter of form, part of the ceremonial to which every pontiff and prelate submits. But neither can we accept without proof the assertion of those writers, whether ancient or modern*, who are too sure that Amadeus coveted the papacy and intrigued for it.

The Western Schism had been to a great extent healed by the election of Martin V. in 1417. It broke out afresh after the death of that pope, in 1431. It was a war between the Pope, and a system of despotic power in the Church, and the Council, and their wish to reduce its government to a limited monarchy: the vast majority of the Council also, consisting of foreign prelates, were actuated by jealousy of the undue ascendancy of their Italian brethren. There had thus been war between Eugene IV. and the Council assembled at Basle since 1433. On the 25th of June, 1439, the Council proceeded to extreme measures, by pronouncing the sentence of deposition of Eugene IV.

Amadeus had done his utmost to avert such extremities. Even at this juncture he would not declare for either party; he directed his legates to abide

* Cibrario, Studi Storici, ii. 322, 421.

equally with Pope and Council; and on the 20th of July of that same year, he solemnly protested that his allegiance was to the Church alone, not to either of its disjointed members, and showed himself ready to disavow any act by which his ambassadors might unwarily commit him, either at Basle or at Rome*.

All this indeed may have been mere seeming, and may have left room for a great deal of underhand intrigue: but the proofs of such duplicity are not forthcoming.

Notwithstanding all this true or affected neutrality, caution, and forbearance of Amadeus, Basle decided for him. The French, German, and Spanish, with part of the Italian nation, were represented in the Conclave. His own Savoyard and Piedmontese prelates, however zealous in his cause, were yet in the minority. But the strongest recommendation was perhaps the State of which Amadeus was still virtually the head, and the support accruing to the Council from its proximity, strength, and compactness. It was Savoy itself they wished to raise to the Papacy. The assembled Bishops foresaw that the spiritual dispute might have to be decided by strength of arms: they beheld France and Germany weakened by factions; and they put their trust in that country which alone was a free agent, and the territories of which almost encompassed them on all sides.

The election of Amadeus took place on the 5th of November, 1439. On the 4th of January, 1440, he

* Monod, Amadeus Pacificus, p. 105.

nominally emancipated his son, and formally abdicated the Duchy of Savoy. On the 24th of June in the same year, the new Pope, who took the name of Felix V., made his solemn entrance into Basle, and was crowned a month later. He had to be hurried through the ceremonies of holy orders in three days, and said his first Mass, attended by his sons, Louis, now Duke of Savoy, and Philip, Count of Geneva.

He resigned his new honours on the 5th of April, 1449, after a pontificate of little less than ten years.

If there may yet be doubts about the spontaneousness of Felix's election, there seem to be none respecting the voluntariness of his resignation. The first event may be looked upon as a strange freak of fortune,—the last was decidedly an unprecedented effort of virtue. Indeed the friends to the memory of Amadeus contend that one deed was father to the other; that he only accepted or coveted the Papacy, in order that he might have it in his power to dispose of it at the proper time.

This was, at any rate, not the case of a pontiff who

> "From base fear
> Abjured his high estate *."

Felix retired with all honours from competition. Half Europe,—England, France, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany,—sided with him. By mere moral ascendancy, or by sheer physical strength, he might have kept his seat against all odds, and died as great a Pope as any of his competitors. But his ambition,

* Dante, Cary's Transl. Hell. iii. 57–58.

as it would seem from his actions, was somewhat wayward and fickle; his devotion was, on the contrary, earnest and intense. He had at any rate the aspiration of great minds. The attainment of high estate was to him only a means for the accomplishment of great deeds. If the thought of abdication did not originate with him, if he did not contemplate it at his very accession, he certainly yielded to the first suggestions.

Eugene IV. died in February, 1447, and Nicholas V. was elected his successor. All Europe was anxious for a termination of the schism; Charles VII. of France, and Louis of Savoy, whose timid mind was keenly alive to the obloquy flung at his father by his opponents, now threw out the first hints that Felix V. alone stood in the way of the pacification of the Church. There was not a moment's hesitation on the part of the latter. But he felt that it was for him to dictate his own terms, and he so conducted the negotiation, as to give that peace permanence and security. He bargained, not for himself, but for the honour of the Council who had chosen and supported him. He stipulated for a universal amnesty, both for friends and foes, both for the living and the dead. For once in the history of the Church, there had been division without schism; there had been two competitors for the Papacy, without an anti-pope. He vindicated the validity of his election, of all his acts, of all the acts of his Council, of all the acts of his adversaries. No one had been in the wrong: he left no

room for repining or recrimination: there was nothing to be forgiven or forgotten: all had been for the best.

He stepped back every inch a Pope—a lawful pontiff up to the hour of his resignation; the first dignitary in the Church, but one, after that act. He was allowed to exercise pontifical authority over all the dominions of Savoy, and some of the adjoining states, to his dying day; he retained the rank of a prince of the Church, as Cardinal of Sabina, a Legate, and Bishop of Geneva. But of these titles he never made any public use or display: he lived one year and nine months at Ripaille, with his old friends, once more a hermit and a dean of hermits. He signed his act of abdication at Lausanne, and died at Geneva, January 7th, 1451, in his sixty-eighth year.

We would not take upon ourselves to affirm that, by his resignation, Amadeus did the best he could have done for the Church: for the cause of the Council of Basle was the cause of religious freedom, and a continuation of the war might have led to a settlement of those disputes between Rome and the north of Europe, which, only imperfectly hushed up at the election of Nicholas V., were to burst forth afresh with redoubled virulence at the time of the Reformation, and contributed far more than any difference of dogma or discipline to render that new breach incurable.

In all probability Amadeus was above all things zealous for the unity of faith and the peace of Christendom; and the world was perhaps not ripe for

such a revolution as Luther ushered in one hundred years later. Perhaps also Felix V. deemed himself ill-seconded, and had no faith in the strength, or else in the earnestness, constancy, and unanimity, of his Council.

He did what seemed the best to all his contemporaries. The applause and gratitude of the world followed him in his retreat, and with it even the good-will of his opponents, and the posthumous homage of his successful rival, Nicholas V. himself; who, in his apostolic letter, dated April 30th, 1451, celebrated in the highest terms the virtues of the illustrious departed, and again gave the most solemn sanction to all the acts of Amadeus both during his pontificate and his subsequent Legation and Cardinalate*.

* Monod, Amadeus Pacificus, p. 292.—Guichenon, Preuves, iv. 341.

CHAPTER VIII.

SAVOY IN BURGUNDY.

We have thus far endeavoured to acquaint our readers with the names of the Counts of Savoy, by the recital of those personal events, which may be looked upon as isolated facts, having little or no bearing on the rise and development of their power, and yet calculated to show forth their character, and the position they occupied in the general annals of mankind.

The history of the Princes has here preceded the account of the formation of their State.

We must now trace the progress of the dynasty on either side of the Alps.

And, first, as to Burgundy.

At the time of the annexation of that kingdom to the German Empire, we have seen Humbert the White-handed entrusted by Conrad the Salic with the government of many of its provinces. It is possible, though there are no direct proofs to that effect, that he filled the office of Lieutenant, or "Rector," of at least part of the realm.

Soon after the death of Humbert, in fact, the sovereigns who succeeded Conrad the Salic did appoint a supreme Duke or Rector, who should exercise imperial authority over this part of their dominions. Agnes, widow of Henry III., during the minority of her son, Henry IV., first gave that charge to Rudolph of Rheinfeld, Duke of Swabia, in 1057. Rudolph died, in hostility with the Emperor, in 1080, as we have seen; and then the Rectorate of Burgundy passed, in 1093, into the hands of the Dukes of Zähringen, who appeared in that capacity until the extinction of their line, in 1218.

But the realm of Burgundy was made up of two distinct nations, German and French; and these were then, as they are now, divided by a line, which may be fixed by the course of the Sarine and Vevayse, north of Lake Leman, and by the Dranse and the Rhone, where the German touches on the French part of the Valais, to the south of the same lake. Over the German population (now German Switzerland) the authority of the Rector was to some extent acknowledged; but the French districts lived in a state of more absolute independence, and each of the nobles, counts or bishops, were looked upon as direct representatives, and often bore the title of Princes of the Empire.

We have also seen that, towards the close of the Burgundian dynasty, Rudolph III. had been very lavish of wealth and power to the bishops, to the detriment of lay feudatories; and the establishment of

this ecclesiastical authority had greatly tended to the final dissolution of the social order.

The Prelates, unfitted by their sacred office for the use of arms, even in self-defence, unable to obtain support or even redress from their distant sovereigns, were often harassed by their nobles, even by those Advocates, Viscounts, or Vicelords, whom they were obliged to trust with part of their power. In their distress they very naturally had recourse to some of the Lords, who both had the power to aid, and were supposed to be less inclined to abuse it.

Now amongst all earthly rulers the Church could nowhere have found more constant, more generous, more submissive patrons than the Princes of the House of Savoy. We could not say—and we willingly refer our readers to Guichenon on the subject* —how many members of the family were canonized, and how great a number had a narrow escape of it, dying at least in the odour of sanctity. Holiness actually ran in the family; it often, as in the case of the children of Amadeus III., took hold of a whole generation, so that it was with difficulty an heir could be found, or the family perpetuated.

The alms at all times bestowed by the House of Savoy with most extravagant profusion on all religious institutions were sure of ample returns. These princes were the spoiled children of the Church. By a series of transactions, which the darkness of the age allows us but imperfectly to pursue, they obtained supreme au-

* Guichenon, Royale Maison de Savoie, i. 92.

thority over those dioceses which are rather vaguely written down amongst the hereditary dominions of the House.

It is not very clearly stated which of the Burgundian provinces were governed by Humbert the White-handed in the name of the Emperor, and which positively belonged to him by feudal right, and went down to his posterity. But it seems very clear that, even in those provinces which are numbered among the original possessions of Savoy, the government was at some remote period shared between these princes and the bishops.

This was at any rate the case with Maurienne, a county which gave the title to the dynasty for two or three generations, which had, as we have seen, been taken from the bishop in 1034, but where that prelate must have regained part at least of his authority at the time of the restoration of the diocese in 1061. The bishops, hard pressed by the Viscounts de la Chambre and Miolans, became daily more attached to their lord and protectors, the Counts, and cheerfully acknowledged their supremacy. In the same manner the violence of the Lords of Briançon, a feudal family whose castle rose at no great distance from the metropolitan See of Moutiers, brought Tarentaise under the patronage of Humbert II.; and the usurpations of the House of Challant afforded Savoy frequent opportunities of extending its sway in Aosta. Thus the episcopal authority was at a very early time shared with the holders of feudal power: in Tarentaise, for in-

stance, the Archbishop held his court at Moutiers, while hardly a mile above that town, at Salines, the Count of Savoy had his own tribunal, and exercised jurisdiction. Collision between such powers was often inevitable, and the weaker party was but too generally worsted. The authority established by the Counts of Savoy upon the necessities, and even upon the wishes, of the Bishops, was soon resisted as onerous.

Thus Humbert II. must have allowed himself some encroachments in Tarentaise, since his successor, Amadeus III., was moved by his piety to make amends to the Archbishop; and Humbert III., who was styled "the Saint," was nevertheless excommunicated by the Bishop of Belley for some "temporalities" of his diocese, which that prince had, perhaps unwittingly, infringed upon.

With all these petty bickerings, however, the high sovereignty of Savoy over those four dioceses, Maurienne, Tarentaise, Belley, and Aosta, was hardly ever questioned; and the same protectorate was extended over Chablais and Lower Valais, and over the famous Abbey of St. Maurice d'Agaune, which was, so to speak, the capital of the latter district.

This magnificent monastery, first founded, as it is supposed, in the fourth century, had been enriched by the lavish bounties of all the Burgundian dynasties, and hallowed as their place of consecration and burial. King Sigismund had, in the year 515, collected five hundred monks on the spot, bidding them keep up a "Laus Perpetua,"—a psalmody which should cease

neither day nor night. The Burgundian monarchs had always kept for themselves the Advocacy of that monastery, and the Princes of Savoy seem to have inherited that office, together with many other prerogatives of Burgundian royalty. They appointed Provosts, and effected important reforms in the fraternity. Amadeus III. and his brother Renaud, Provost of St. Maurice, put an end to the disorderly life of the brotherhood, by establishing there regular canons in 1128.

In 1250, Rudolph, Abbot of St. Maurice, sent to Peter II., the "Little Charlemagne," the ring of St. Maurice, that precious relic which, together with the lance of the warrior-martyr, had constituted the regalia of Burgundy. By that act the House of Savoy was put in possession of the visible emblems of that kingly inheritance of the monarchy of Boson and Rudolph, of one-third of which it had by this time secured the possession.

Of the lance of St. Maurice no mention is made up to this time; but the ring continued to be the symbol of investiture of the State of Savoy, and was worn by its Counts, Dukes, and Kings in succession, till it was lost in the general havoc consequent on the French occupation of 1796*. It contained an oval stone of agate, with a warrior on horseback upon it; and, if indeed it never belonged to the warrior Saint of Thebais, it was at least a jewel of great value for its antiquity.

* Guichenon, Royale Maison de Savoie, Preuves, iv. 73.—Cibrario, Studi Storici, ii. 314.

Beyond this first cluster of four or five states, Savoy was in contact with the Bishops of Geneva, of Lausanne, and of Sion in Valais, all of whom favoured its Princes, notwithstanding occasional conflicts. These prelates were frequently called to take part in the councils of the sovereigns of Savoy, and more frequently put at the head of the regency during their minority.

It is worthy of remark, that within this first compass of the dominions of the House, within this original nucleus of Savoy, Maurienne, Tarentaise, Chablais, and Aosta, there were no cities. The episcopal Sees of St. Jean, Moutiers, and Belley were mere boroughs, to which even the mitre of their prelates failed to give lustre or importance. Aosta itself never enjoyed in the Middle Ages that high rank to which, as an imperial colony, it had been raised in Roman times. The Counts of Savoy had to make their own cities. Thomas I. bought Chambéry, on the 15th of May, 1232, for 32,000 solidi secusini (about £3600), from Berlion, its Viscount, whose family had possessed lordly rights there, since the first mention of the place occurs in 1029*. The castle was only ceded to Amadeus V. in 1295, by the Lords de la Rochette, and it was only then that Amadeus removed thither the seat of government, which had hitherto been at Aiguebelle.

Upon Chambéry, no less than upon Susa and Aosta, Thomas I. bestowed the first charters; and with those liberties these towns were so well contented, as seldom

* Menabrea, Histoire de Chambéri, liv. i. ch. vii. 23.

or never to cause their liege lords any uneasiness. Indeed, we may as well state at the outset, it was the reputation which the Princes of Savoy won from these first bounties, that made them popular everywhere north and south of the Alps, as friends of the people and champions of the cause of freedom.

The bishops of those merely rural provinces therefore could not rely on that impetuous, however precarious, support, which the population of large towns for some time found it expedient to afford to their prelates. Those Alpine bishops were nothing but feudal princes, and as such, they had nothing to uphold them against grasping neighbours, but that feudal power, which churchmen were only in rare instances qualified to wield.

There was something in the sincere or affected moderation, piety, self-denial, and rectitude of the Princes of Savoy, which seemed to inspire either more love, or at least less fear, than any of its rivals, either of Burgundy or Lombardy. It was temper above all things that had great weight with the people, as it had also the power to conciliate the people's spiritual rulers. The rise of this House, at the time of Thomas I., may be looked upon as coeval with the depression of episcopal authority. Feudal and monarchical power in France, and municipal democracy in Italy, was, in the thirteenth century, undermining the authority acquired by lordly prelates during the more intense darkness of previous ages. Being thus under compulsion to relinquish their hold of those goods of the

earth, which they had no longer the means to defend against feudal aggression, or to make over to secular hands the government of those cities which they were no longer able to keep under control, it was but natural that these ecclesiastical potentates should divest themselves of their rights in behalf of the Princes of Savoy,—of those, that is, amongst their manifold rivals, who evinced the greatest deference toward the Church; that they should advance the interests of rulers, over whom and over whose dependents their own influence could still be more or less directly exercised.

But beyond the immediate circle of those mountain provinces we have enumerated, there were prelates placed in very different circumstances from those of Tarentaise or Maurienne,—prelates who lorded it over great cities,—such as the Archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, the Bishops of Grenoble, of Lausanne, and Geneva. With some of these the House of Savoy seldom or never came into contact; the others it was glad to treat on equal terms, and to sue for their friendship. Most of those bishops moreover had other lay potentates to contend with,—the Bishop of Geneva with the Counts of Genevois, the Archbishop of Vienne with the Viennese Dauphins. In their differences with these nearer rivals, the bishops were generally fain to seek the alliance of those Counts of Savoy, whose position and character gave them less umbrage, and who, from time immemorial, were the enemies of their enemies.

The wars of Savoy with the Dauphins of Vienne, or of the Viennois, embrace the whole period from the rise of both Houses, down to the extinction of the third dynasty of the Dauphins, toward the middle of the fourteenth century.

The first lordly family of Dauphiny made their appearance in the eleventh century, soon after the times of Humbert I. of Savoy: one Guy, or Guigues, first usurped part of the territory of the Bishop of Grenoble, towards 1044. He was brought to repentance in old-age, and died in a convent; but the property he had possessed himself of by violence did not the less descend to his posterity. The family bore at first the title of Lords of Grésivaudan, as they occupied part of the beautiful valley of the Isère above Grenoble. They held also the uppermost vale of the Durance at Briançon; in progress of time they extended their sway over the best part of the territories of Grenoble and Vienne, and even reached across the Alps into Italian lands, where they held the vale of Cesanne, at the foot of Mont Genèvre, as well as the valley of the Pelice, as far as Perosa. Their title was for a long time that of Lords, then Counts of Albon, from the name of a castle in the Viennese province, where they had their chief residence. Guigues IV. took the title of Dauphin before 1140,—a title, the origin of which has given rise to idle conjectures, but which probably arose from a dolphin that prince bore on his coat-of-arms, and which was equally the device of the Dauphins of Auvergne.

Guigues V. was, in 1155, raised to the rank of Count of Viennois, and his successors obtained the honours of Palatine counts, and seneschals of the Empire. Vienne however always enjoyed the privileges of an imperial city; and its primate, a prince of the Empire, held his position altogether independent of the Dauphin, and lived in constant enmity with him.

The first collision on record between Savoy and Dauphiny belongs to the year 1140. Guigues IV. crossed the frontier, and attacked Montmeillan, that huge castle-crowned rock on the Isère, which rises now as it did then near the boundary-line of Savoy. He was met by Amadeus III. under the walls of the besieged castle, and received a wound, of which he died soon afterwards at the castle of Buxière. If we may believe Pingon (for recent writers have thrown doubts on the subject*) Guigues V., eager to avenge the fall of his predecessor, led his forces against Savoy in 1153: he experienced a similar defeat, under the same walls of Montmeillan, at the hands of Humbert III., who issued from his solitude of Hautecombe to meet him.

With Guigues V. the first dynasty of the Dauphins became extinct in 1162. Beatrix, heiress of that family, gave her hand and her estates, in a second marriage, to Hugh, a prince of the younger branch of the House of the Dukes of Burgundy, in 1180. The Burgundian line ended also, in 1282, when Dauphiny

* Pingon, Histor. Sabaudiæ, lib. vii. MS.—Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, i. 226.

came into the possession of the House of La Tour du Pin, whose estates bordered on Savoy, across the Guiers and the Rhone.

By this time, another House, enjoying independent sovereignty, that of the Barons of Faucigny, had also become extinct. These lorded it over the valley of the Arve, and of the Giffre, its tributary, and had scattered possessions in the Pays de Vaud and elsewhere. They were, perhaps, more ancient in the Alps than the Counts of Maurienne, and traced their pedigree to Oliver, one of the Paladins of Charlemagne. Between these barons and the House of Savoy there had always been amity, and Peter II. son of Thomas I. had, in 1233, married Agnes, heiress of Faucigny, so that there was good hope that her estates, which were encompassed on all sides by Savoy, should be added to the possession of the latter House.

Peter however had no other issue than a daughter, named Beatrix; and this, in an evil hour, he gave to the Dauphin, Guigues VII. This latter had a son, John, who died in 1281; and a daughter, Anne, who had married Humbert, Lord of La Tour du Pin. The heritage of Faucigny not only thus escaped from the grasp of Savoy, but was added to the estates of an hereditary foe; a disappointment which, together with the new position of the respective territories, gave rise to wars which continued, with rare intervals, for more than half a century, during the reigns of Philip I., Amadeus V., Edward and Aymon of Savoy, and only terminated at the time that Humbert II., last of the

third line of Dauphins, sold or ceded his estates to France, in 1349.

All these wars were often complicated by the enmity of Savoy with the Counts of Geneva, or Genevois, with whose territories the Dauphins, as Lords of Faucigny, had now come into contact,—who had besides other endless subjects of contention with their Savoy neighbours.

The County of Geneva was probably, with many others, created by Charlemagne. It certainly existed at the time of the coronation of Rudolph of Burgundy, in 888. But the lineage of the Counts can hardly be traced further back than the year 1000, when the same blank occurs in the pedigree of all the families, no less than in the annals of all the countries of Europe. Soon after that epoch, the Count of Geneva was Gerold, a contemporary, and, possibly, a relative of Humbert the White-handed of Savoy, and like him, in some obscure manner, connected with Rudolph III. of Burgundy, or with his queen.

Gerold of Geneva followed, however, a different policy from that of Humbert of Savoy. He took part against Conrad the Salic, and was only brought under allegiance in 1047, after the death of Oddo of Champagne, Conrad's competitor.

It was perhaps at this epoch, and in punishment of this opposition, that the Emperor placed the city of Geneva (which indeed, even under the last Burgundian kings, had been partly governed by the bishops) altogether under the jurisdiction of these latter, leaving

the Count merely the dominion over the province; and even for this he was to do homage to the Bishop, and acknowledge himself his vassal.

The province of Genevois lay between the Arve, the Arli, a confluent of the Isère, and the Rhone; but the Counts had besides some possessions on the right bank of the latter river, and of Lake Leman, the Pays de Gex, part of Bugey, and lands and castles in the neighbouring states. Their residence was at Annecy, or in the Castles of La Roche or Faverge.

In the city itself of Geneva, the Count had the advocacy of the Church. His office was strictly subordinate to the Bishop, and limited to the execution of sentences in criminal matters,—a better sort of provost, sheriff, or bailiff. Even his residence in the town was subject to the good pleasure of the Bishop. This position was bettered, in some instances, by the election of members of the family of Genevois to the episcopal dignity,—as of Guy, brother of Count Aymon I. (1049–1099), and of Robert, uncle to Count Aymon III. (1282–1287), who did not scruple to advance the interests of their kinsmen at the expense of the See.

At the suggestion of Count Amadeus I., Berchthold IV. Duke of Zähringen, Rector of Burgundy, solicited from Frederic Barbarossa a re-enforcement of the almost obsolete imperial rights over the non-German provinces in his rectorate, especially over Sion, Lausanne, and Geneva; and these rights, for what concerned the latter city, he made over to the same

Count Amadeus. But the Bishop, Arducius, of Faucigny, obtained from the Emperor a revocation of that obnoxious decree in 1162, and had himself appointed Prince of the Empire, a title which freed him from all alliance to any but the chief himself of the Empire.

This merely as to rights. In sober fact, however, the Bishop either had need, or was at the mercy, of his overbearing advocate, and had to withstand endless acts of encroachment, against which he had often no other weapons than bulls of excommunication.

As an executor of the Bishop's decrees, at the head of his "secular arm," as the phrase was, the Count had built a castle at the entrance of the Bourg du Four, near the market-place, and in very sight of the cathedral,—a fortress at the same time and a gaol; from which he soon became so formidable to the Bishop, that the latter had to provide for his safety by erecting another stronghold of his own, on the isle formed by the Rhone, at the very spot where it issues from the lake and darts across the city*.

The Lord and the Prelate, each from his own citadel, thus carried on frequent wars, in which the people soon began to take part.

Count William I. had obtained a decisive advantage over the Bishop, Nanthelme, or Nantelin, who died broken-hearted, in 1205. He was succeeded by Bernard Chabert, who, unable to resist the power of Count William, called in the assistance of Thomas I. of Savoy.

* Spon, Histoire de Genève, i. 51, ii. 406.

This prince, the first of his House who added deep and enlarged policy to that mixture of valour and piety which had hitherto distinguished them, immediately invaded the Count's territory, and gave the Bishop such efficient aid, that, as he drew near the city, he caused him some alarm, lest he had found a master in the person of his new protector.

This alarm Thomas took good care to dispel, by declaring that his acquisitions in the Genevois had only made him a vassal to the Bishop, and solemnly assuring him that his newly-acquired dignity as an imperial vicar would never be extended to the diocese of Geneva (October 14th, 1211).

Count William I., however, contrived to make his peace with the new Bishop, Aymon de Grandson, and recovered part of his estates, in 1219.

He left two sons at his death, Humbert and William II. The eldest died soon after his father, and left two sons, Ebles and Peter, whom their uncle William II. excluded from the inheritance. Ebles died in England, in 1259; he was related to the House of Savoy, born of Agnes, daughter of Amadeus III. or of Humbert III., who had married Humbert of Geneva. He therefore bequeathed his titles to the county of Genevois, to Peter, son of Thomas I., the "Little Charlemagne." This cession was confirmed by Peter, brother of Ebles.

Peter of Savoy had already been at war with William II., the usurper, and with the son of this latter, called Rudolph: and during one of the frequent truces

peculiar to the irregular and desultory warfare of those feudal times, he had been taken prisoner by Rudolph, and treated with great indignity. The Lords and Prelates who stood security for the maintenance of the armistice, cried out against so flagrant an infringement of the law of nations, and condemned the House of Geneva to pay Peter of Savoy an indemnity of 20,000 marks. The fine was afterwards, by the mediation of Philip of Savoy, Archbishop of Lyons, and brother of Peter, reduced by one-half. Still the Genevese Counts were unable to pay it; and Peter was, by way of compensation, empowered to wage a long war against them (1233–1250), at the end of which he had taken from them large possessions, both in their own county and in Vaud, and had superseded them in the advacacy of the diocese of Geneva. He consequently occupied and retained in the town that castle of the Bourg du Four which had been the seat of the Count's jurisdiction.

This Peter II. owed his appellation of "Little Charlemagne" no less to his talents as a legislator, than to his valour as a warrior. Under him the city of Geneva, upon which a tight rein had hitherto been kept by its Bishops, began to establish its franchises upon the model of the charters which had been freely awarded by Thomas I. to most of the towns under his sceptre, some of which indeed bear as early a date as the reign of Amadeus III. The name of Savoy became thus associated, in Geneva as well as all over Switzerland, with the cause of freedom; and the

Genevese burghers, in 1260, raised Peter to the dignity of their chief and protector, allowing him an authority somewhat analogous to that exercised by the "Capitan del Popolo" in the more advanced Italian cities of that age.

After Peter's death, in 1268, the ascendancy of Savoy suffered some diminution during the latter years of his brother Philip's reign, owing to his infirmities. The bishop, Robert of Genevois, had made a common cause with Count Aymon III., his nephew; and the first use these kinsmen made of their success was an attempt upon the liberties granted to the citizens by Savoy. The citizens turned for redress to Amadeus V. in 1285; and the latter, who was still in possession of the castle of the Bourg du Four, obtained a final mastery over the city, by possessing himself also of the castle of the Isle du Rhône, which he took from the Bishop.

At the same time there was war between Savoy and Dauphiny for the succession of Faucigny. The Counts and Bishops of Geneva henceforth joined the Dauphins, and Savoy had almost single-handed to withstand their combined attacks: in the city of Geneva itself, however, Savoy had always a powerful auxiliary. That town was now divided into the factions of Savoy and Genevois, as it had before been between the Count's and the Bishop's partisans; and daily skirmishes stained the streets with blood; so deplorable indeed were the disorders into which these feuds plunged the city, that peaceful and industrious

burghers migrated *en masse*: it was during this period that a Genevese colony was founded in the valley of Ruz, on the Jura, above Neufchâtel.

In some of these daily strifes the castle of the Bourg du Four came once or twice into the hands of the Genevois party, but was promptly retaken. At last, in 1320, Edward and Aymon, still in the lifetime of their father Amadeus V., made a sudden onset upon that fortalice; they took, and so utterly demolished it, that it could never become a stronghold to their adversaries. Geneva had henceforth no other fortress than that on the Isle du Rhône, on which the White Cross of Savoy never ceased to wave.

It would not be an easy, and certainly a tedious task to enter into the particulars of that eighty years' war of Savoy against Dauphiny and Genevois. They were made up of petty skirmishes and petty sieges, —forays and "cavalcades," as they were called,—interrupted now and then by a short truce, by an abortive attempt at mediation; now by some officious neighbours, now by some members themselves of the belligerent families, now by the sovereigns of France or England, by the Emperor or the Pope.

There was often as little cause for the outbreak as for the cessation of hostilities. They originated sometimes in mere border-forays, such as minstrels loved to sing,—"a Percy out of mere bravado sallying forth to kill game in the forests of a Douglas."

Each party sallied forth, generally in the spring, the lord at the head of his Ban or feudal militia,

a force bound to serve only for a limited period, seldom exceeding two months. He rode over the enemy's territory, laid the lands waste, plundered the defenceless peasantry, and endeavoured, either by surprise or siege, to possess himself of some strong castle of the enemy. This latter, who was busy at a similar work of destruction on the other side, would sometimes hasten to the defence of his own territory, when an encounter became possible. The war was, however, more commonly a drawn game, and anything like a decisive action seemed to be studiously avoided on either side.

Presently the time appointed for the service of bounden retainers expired. The feudal host went asunder; the wintry season set in, and with it the time for negotiation. A stray emperor, a pontiff, or even a prince of minor rank but of royal title, happened to pass through, and by his interference gave those interminable diplomatic quibbles something like zest and importance. The contending parties were all nearly related to each other; originally of kindred blood, most probably, but at any rate closely connected by intermarriages in almost every generation. Among the items of those pacific transactions, a marriage was almost invariably contemplated; in some instances even a double or a quadruple alliance. Sometimes they would go the length of a solemn betrothal. A new bride, a mere child perhaps, would be conveyed to her future wedded home, there to be educated according to the usages and manners

of the country of her adoption. Then the bridegroom would conceive a distaste for her, or, possibly, show an inclination for some other person; more often—for the heart had no great share in those princely arrangements—political circumstances were altered: the proposed union no longer entered into the views of one of the contracting parties: the match suddenly broke off, and the young princess, still a betrothed bride, repudiated ere she was wedded, was sent back to her parents to aggravate old enmities,—a propitiatory victim, who became the cause of fresh animosity and revenge.

There was thus war and peace every year; but even the intervals of peace were diligently improved for warlike purposes. The parties were busy with the restoration of old castles or the erection of new ones. Amadeus V. especially, a man of constructive habits, and the first patron of the fine arts in his family, took into his pay some of those Italian architects, who had already brought the art of fortification and all military engineering to as much perfection as they ever reached previous to the invention of gunpowder. Every prince seemed anxious to rear his stronghold on the very borders of his neighbour's estate,—a very thorn in his side,—or even to choose its site on neutral ground, on some slip of disputed territory, out of mere provocation, and as a pretext for new contention.

Some idea of the nature of those wars may be gathered from the fact that the same Amadeus V., a man indeed of rare activity, and not ill-qualified by his

character for that surname of "the Great," which probably at first his mere stature had won him, is said to have been present at thirty-two sieges. The hostilities raged with but rare interruption during the thirty years of his reign (1285–1323). Beside the Dauphins and the Counts of Genevois, some of the French feudal lords, such as the counts and dukes of Burgundy, the lords of Châlons, Poitiers, and others, took part in the contest—most of them against Savoy. The bishops of Geneva and the primates of Vienne were also in the enemy's ranks; and these, not content with carnal weapons, did not scruple to hurl the thunders of the Church against Savoy. But Amadeus V. pleaded a privilege granted by Gregory X. in 1272, and confirmed by Boniface VIII. in 1294, by virtue of which the Court of Rome vindicated the monopoly of those thunders; so that no excommunication could be considered valid against Savoy, without the express sanction of Papal authority.

Amadeus V. did not live to see the end of the wars: though by his journey to Avignon, where he died, in 1323, he was able, by Papal mediation, to bring about an armistice with the Dauphin.

Edward, his eldest son and successor, an impetuous youth, more hare-brained than any other prince of his race, was already on the field in the following year, 1324.

Amadeus V. had built a castle at La Perrière, on the mountains above Voreppe and Voiron, close to the site of Salmorenc, the earliest domain, as we have seen,

of Humbert the White-handed, and on the frontier of Dauphiny. The Dauphin, Guigues VIII., came to lay siege to it. Edward, unable to afford relief to its garrison, owing to the ruggedness of the surrounding mountains, vented his fury against his adversary's possessions, and laid siege to the castle of Varey, in Bresse, near the river Ain, on the plain of St. Jean-le-Vieux, about twelve miles to the south-west of Nantua. The Dauphin raised the siege of La Perrière, and confronted the Savoyard forces under the walls of Varey. A general engagement ensued, August 7th, 1325, in which the feudal nobility of France were present on either side in great numbers. Carried away by his headlong valour, Edward had fallen into the enemy's hands, and was only liberated by the devotion of some of his knights; but the panic occasioned by the temporary capture of their chief, threw the army of Edward into confusion, and the day was lost for Savoy. Most of his powerful French allies, princes of the various houses of Burgundy, fell into the hands of the Dauphin, who exacted an exorbitant ransom from them.

Edward did not the less endeavour to retrieve his fortune in following encounters, and never laid down his arms to the end of his reign; but his proud spirit was broken, and, as France had by this time taken the matter in hand, and obtained a suspension of hostilities, Edward repaired to the French Court, where he died, borne down by the sense of his adversity, in 1329.

His brother and successor was Aymon "the Peaceful." Independent of his quiet disposition, this prince

was warned by the state of his finances, exhausted by the incessant wars of his father, and by the lavish bounties which had won his brother his "liberal" reputation. Aymon however had to deal with an enemy inflated by success, who allowed him no rest even while negotiations were pending, so that he had need of all the spirit which distinguished his youth, to repel his repeated attacks.

Guigues VIII. could have no peace while that obnoxious castle of La Perrière was standing. He had already taken it twice in the course of 1331; but the Savoyards had, in both instances, regained possession of it. The Dauphin was now bent on a new effort against the place, and surveying the operations of the siege, when he was struck by a ball from a falconet, on the 28th of June, 1333, and died on the following day*.

He was succeeded by his brother, Humbert II., who had been lord of Faucigny since 1328. The king of France, the Pope, and a number of prelates and great ladies, became now very earnest for peace, and their words fell on more willing ears. A final agreement was finally signed at Lyons, on the 27th of May, 1334.

Humbert II. was the last Dauphin. He rose to greater power than any of his predecessors, and even succeeded in obtaining possession of the city of Vienne, a usurpation which called down upon him the wrath not

* Histoire du Dauphiné sous les Dauphins de la Maison de la Tour du Pin, 152.

only of the Archbishop, but also of the Papal Court of Avignon. He was a man of weak character, vain, inconsiderate, eccentric; a spendthrift, and all his life deep in debt. His only son died in infancy; in 1335, dropped, as the tradition was, by his nurse from a high window of the castle of Beauvoir in Ronays, into the waters of the Isère flowing beneath. This calamity, the interdict of the Church, from which he was only released in 1342, and his all-devouring debts, rendered him docile to the suggestions of Philip of Valois, king of France, who solicited a cession of his states in favour of some of the French princes.

Negotiations to that effect were carried on from 1343 to 1349. It was first a right of succession that the lavish Dauphin bargained for, then a surrender of his dominions in his lifetime. On the 30th of March of the latter year, Dauphiny was sold to Charles, eldest son of John Duke of Normandy, and grandson of King Philip, for 200,000 florins. John and Charles successively reigned over France; and the latter, on his accession to the throne as Charles V. in 1364, decreed that the title and estate of the Dauphins should always be made over to the eldest son of the French king, as hereditary Prince of France.

Humbert survived his act of abdication six years. The wily French king induced him to take holy orders, and obtained from the Pope his rapid promotion in the Church. By turns Patriarch of Alexandria, Bishop of Paris, and Administrator of the Metropolitan See of Rheims, the restless Humbert ended his chequered

existence, sick of the world and its vanities, in a monastery founded by himself at Clermont, in 1355.

The wars between Savoy and Dauphiny were not at an end for all that, but were continued by the Dauphins of the royal house of France. It was not until 1355, on the 5th of January, at the close of long and arduous negotiations, that Aymon's son Amadeus VI. concluded a treaty by which he ceded Voiron, and other possessions in the Viennois, to France, (fixing thus at the Rhone and the Guiers the limits of his states with the powerful monarchy with which they came into contact,) and received in exchange Faucigny with its dependencies in the Pays de Gex, and Bugey.

It was at this juncture that the Green Count had to give up his bride, Joan of Burgundy, (who had been brought up for him at the Castle of Bourget, and whom King John of France now doomed to the melancholy lot of an old maid,) and with her all hopes to the succession of the Duchy of Burgundy, accepting instead the hand of a French princess, Bonne of Bourbon, whom Amadeus went out to meet at Yenne, on the borders, October 19th, 1355.

Previous to this peace, of Lyons, between Savoy and Dauphiny, Aymon had come to terms with Amadeus III., count of Genevois: and Count Amadeus had become so intimate with Savoy as to be present at the marriage of Aymon with Yolande of Montferrat, in 1330. From the date of that pacification, the House of Genevois did homage to that of Savoy, and was no longer numbered amongst its foes.

There are pleasant features occasionally to be met with in the midst of the dull sameness of those never-ending feudal wars; instances of a certain knightly loyalty and uprightness showing that emulation and punctiliousness had fully as great a share as malice or rapacity, in bringing those rival families into the field. The subject of dispute was often referred to the arbitration of what might be considered an interested party, and a sense of justice seemed generally to prevail over all considerations of personal or dynastic interest.

Thus it was, for instance, that Philip of Savoy, while yet Archbishop of Lyons, put an end to the long wars between his brother Peter and the Counts of Genevois in 1250, and the latter were fain to abide by the decision of one so nearly related to their adversary. In the same manner, after his peace with Amadeus III. of Genevois, Aymon of Savoy showed the most magnanimous confidence towards his humbled enemy, and the latter worthily requited it. Aymon entrusted to the Genevese Count, together with Louis of Vaud, the guardianship of his son, the Green Count, during a long minority; and those two princes, who might have proved formidable foes to the young heir, most faithfully watched over his interests.

Count Amadeus III. of Genevois died in 1367, leaving five sons and five daughters, by whom he had every hope to have provided for his succession.

Four of his sons, Aymon IV., Amadeus IV., John, and Peter, successively governed the county: the fifth,

Robert, a Pope, or antipope, under the name of Clement VII., died in 1394, and with him the male line of Genevois came to an end.

Peter, the last of the reigning counts, had bequeathed Genevois to Humbert de Villars, son of Mary of Genevois, his eldest sister. Humbert de Villars died in 1400, and left the county to Oddo de Villars, his uncle, who made a formal cession of it to Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, on the 5th of August, 1401, at Paris.

Thus did this long-coveted province fall at last into the possession of the House of Savoy, nearly a century and a half since Ebles, and his brother Peter, had ceded it by will to Peter of Savoy (May 12, 1259).

In the town of Geneva the House of Savoy had maintained its ascendancy ever since the time when Edward and Aymon, sons of Amadeus V., had taken and destroyed the castle of the Bourg du Four in 1320.

The Bishops, now in opposition, now in subjection to the Savoy rulers, had nevertheless always asserted their rights as supreme magistrates of Geneva.

By a policy analogous to that pursued by Count Amadeus I. of Genevois, in the twelth century, Amadeus VI. of Savoy endeavoured to establish his supremacy over the Bishop, by enlisting the authority of the Empire on his side. He put forward his claims as an imperial vicar, and obtained a decree of the Emperor Charles IV. granting him all the rights and privileges of the Imperial court over the city; but here,

again, he was defeated by the bishop, William de Marcossey, who prevailed upon the Emperor to annul his own decrees (1366, 1367); so that, by the acts of that monarch, no less than by the Papal bulls of Victor III. in 1160, and Gregory XI. in 1371, the see of Geneva was again and again placed beyond the control of feudal potentates.

It was however merely in words, that both popes and emperors disposed of cities and states. The lay and clerical pretenders to supreme power at Geneva had to settle their differences sword-in-hand in the streets of the town, and there was now a third power which to a great extent determined the chances of the conflict.

The townspeople, who had been such warm partisans of the House of Savoy so long as they saw in that house their best support against the tyranny of their own counts or bishops, now became apprehensive of danger on the part of such powerful patrons, and set up their bishops against Savoy, contending that the head of their Church had alone the rights of lordship over their city.

Those liberties which Peter of Savoy had first introduced, or at least organized, in opposition to the bishops, in the thirteenth century, were now embodied in a regular charter by a bishop, Ademar Fabri, towards the close of the fourteenth (1387). Since that time the Genevese always upheld their prelate in all his differences with the princes of Savoy. At the time when Amadeus VIII. obtained definitive possession of

the county of Genevois, he was compelled to acknowledge himself a vassal of the bishop, William de Lornay, on the 1st of October, 1405, in accordance with the ancient compact between the spiritual and temporal lords of Geneva established by Conrad the Salic, in the eleventh century.

Amadeus VIII. however, to whom even that merely nominal homage was irksome, made, in 1420, an attempt to obtain a cession of the temporal dominion of the city from John de Pierre-Cise, or de Roche-Taillée, Patriarch of Constantinople, and administrator of the See of Geneva. That prelate dared not meet the demands of Amadeus with a flat refusal, but warily referred the matter to the chapter and the council of the city. The townspeople, now jealous of Savoy, whose territories encompassed them on all sides, answered firmly, that for the last four centuries they had had no other prince than their bishop, and that they would persevere in their allegiance to him alone*.

The fact is, however, that by the aid of Savoy they had broken the power of their bishop; and now they turned against Savoy that very bishop, who had ceased to be an object of uneasiness to them.

Amadeus VIII., in his latter years, was raised to the See of Geneva, and several princes of his house monopolized the diocese after him; so that by their means Savoy exercised a more or less direct authority over the city, till at last the great object of all her

* Spon, Histoire de Genève, i. 76.

ambition was obtained, and the temporalities of the See were actually made over to one of her reigning princes. But the stubborn spirit of the burghers was anything but broken, and that very last act of usurpation became the signal for the complete emancipation of Geneva.

CHAPTER IX.

SAVOY IN HELVETIA.

WHILST the House of Savoy strained every nerve to secure the sovereignty of the city of Geneva, it was equally extending its dominions far to the north of that town and territory.

The Pays de Gex and the Val Romey had been definitively annexed before the close of the wars of Dauphiny.

Bugey, the nominal possession of which is supposed to have been first given by the Emperor Henry IV. to the Countess Adelaide, was secured to her descendants by subsequent transactions.

The best part of Bresse came in as a dowry of Sibyl of Baugé, heiress of that province, who was wedded to Amadeus V. at Chillon, in 1272.

This happened during the reign of Amadeus's uncle Philip, who, upon quitting the See of Lyons for the throne of Savoy in 1268, had also married an heiress, Alice de Méranie, Countess of Burgundy (Franche Comté), and who consequently governed that county

for a few years. Alice however had no issue from her union with Philip of Savoy, and as she had, on the contrary, a large family from her first marriage with Hugh of Châlons, the sons of this latter, upon coming of age, succeeded as Counts of Burgundy.

In 1355, John, King of France, by breaking off the match between Amadeus VI. and Joan of Burgundy, deprived Savoy of every chance of aggrandisement in that quarter; and a few years later (1363) the duchy, and, in 1384, the county, of Burgundy, fell to the lot of Philip the Bold, son of the same King John, the head of that ducal House of Burgundy, which for so long a time set its coronet in competition with the crown of France.

On this, as on all other sides, on its western frontier, Savoy had thus come into contact with a redoubtable neighbour, who not only put a stop to her acquisitions, but eventually forced back her landmarks, and repeatedly threatened to swallow up her own hereditary domains.

France had risen side by side with Savoy, but with very different strides and in very different proportions.

At the time that Humbert the White-handed laid the basis of the greatness of his house, the King of France, whose state was limited to two or three of the present French departments, was hardly more powerful than the mere Count of Savoy. Matters had greatly changed since that time. A series of brave, crafty, or fortunate sovereigns had crushed feudalism; and the hundreds of French fiefs, which had at first

clustered under the sceptre of great lords, and formed the Duchies of Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, etc., had either been re-united to the Crown, or, as a preliminary step, been given in appanage to some of the princes of the blood.

Nor had France merely re-asserted her sway over her own territory; but vast tracts of that ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which, though French by nature, nominally belonged to the German Empire, had once more come under French rulers, without opposition, or indeed without notice, on the part of the successors of Conrad the Salic.

Thus Provence had become a French fief, under Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, as early as 1245. The county of Burgundy, or Franche Comté, was united to the Duchy of Burgundy, under another French prince in 1384. Dauphiny became crown-land for France in 1349; and long before that time, in 1310, Philip the Fair had possessed himself of the important city of Lyons.

This great and proud city, the metropolis of the Burgundian kingdom, the second city of Gaul, had been governed by its archbishops, independently of any other sovereignty, ever since the days of Conrad the Salic. It had been declared an imperial city. Italian merchants had settled there in great numbers, and gave it that peculiar Italian character which it evinces even at the present day. The Italians had also brought there the first rudiments of the silk trade which raised it to its present prosperity.

The citizens, in their well-being, had wearied of the yoke of their primate, and aspired to municipal freedom. The metropolitan chair had often been filled by princes of the House of Savoy, and, since 1307, by Peter, one of the sons of Thomas III. of the Piedmontese branch of that House.

Between the Archbishop Peter and the townspeople hostilities had broken out. The French King had fanned the flames of those discords, and his lieutenant, who from the Castle of St. Just governed the suburbs of Lyons lying on French ground on the western bank of the Saône, offered the Lyonnese the protection of his master.

The Lyonnese were however mistrustful of this too generous offer: they rose against the French, drove out the King's officer, and even stormed and demolished the Castle of St. Just.

But Philip was bent upon having Lyons on any terms. He sent Louis Hutin, his son, with a large force, and the town struck its colours at the mere approach of the French prince.

The Archbishop made his own terms with the King, especially by the mediation of his uncle, Amadeus V., Count of Savoy, and ceded the lordly rights of the see to the French crown, a bargain which Pope Clement V., always subservient to the mandates of the king who made him, did not hesitate to sanction.

Thus was Savoy, on the west, encompassed all round by France. It was long indeed before the latter kingdom had acquired sufficient strength and

compactness to render it formidable to its neighbours. The princes of the royal house, especially the descendants of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, were even more determined foes to the Crown than their predecessors of the age of feudalism had been. The wars with England also engaged all the forces of France in the mere defence of her own territories, and allowed no leisure for conquest. But when Charles VII. and the Maid of Orléans had driven the last English enemies across the sea, in 1436, when Louis XI. had witnessed the fall of his foe, Charles le Téméraire; in 1477, Savoy had no alternative but either to bend her neck or to be annihilated.

But whilst the frontiers of Savoy had, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, been advanced in the north-west, from the Rhone to the Jura, from the Jura to the Ain, and hence again along the left bank of the Saône, her progress had been even more rapid on the north-east, all round the northern bank of the Leman, far into Vaud and into Switzerland.

The county of Vaud had, in 1011, been given to the Bishop of Lausanne by Rudolph III. of Burgundy. It extended along the northern bank of the lake, from the Aubonne to the Vevayse; the diocese of Lausanne embraced also the territories of Avenches, Soleure, Neufchâtel, and even the German districts of Friburg and Bern.

From the Vevayse the eastern and southern shores of the same lake were formed by Chablais, the name of which some derive from the Latin, "caput laci,"

or Water-head, whilst others think it a corruption of "Caballiacum," supposing the Romans to have had there a stud of war-horses. The country round the lake was styled the Great Chablais; inland, the lower Valais, or province of Agaune, from St. Maurice to Martigny, went also by the name of Little or Old Chablais: the Abbot of St. Maurice had sometimes governed it as a county. Above Martigny, Valais was under the sway of its count, the Bishop of Sion. But this prelate had also some territories in Lower Valais, and even on the lake, at Montreux and Vevey. The princes of Savoy, when they added fortifications to the castle of Chillon, professed to hold its soil from the Prince-Bishops of Sion.

Over all these provinces, and especially over Vaud, the Dukes of Zähringen, whose home was in the adjoining Swiss and German territories, had, ever since 1093, as Rectors of Burgundy, striven to maintain the imperial authority.

They had met with opposition on the part of the Counts of Burgundy (Franche Comté) who bordered upon Vaud, on the other side. But the line of these Counts became extinct in 1148, and the Emperor Frederic I., Barbarossa, married Beatrix, their heiress.

Frederic, as we have said, anxious to come to terms with the House of Zähringen, granted to the Duke, Berchthold IV., the rights and privileges of Imperial Vicar, over Sion, Lausanne, and Geneva. The imperial grant was revoked in so far as it concerned Geneva, and never had any great weight in Valais. In Vaud

also the Zähringen met with strong opposition, not only on the part of the Bishop of Lausanne, but also from the fierce and proud nobility of that district; for such houses as the Grandsons, Gruyère, Neufchâtel Oltingen, and several others, had profited by the rivalry of Zähringen with the Counts of Burgundy, and attained the power as well as the rank of independent lords.

In 1207, Thomas I. of Savoy, in remuneration for his services to the Emperor Philip, obtained from him a grant of the strong castle of Moudon.

That grant, like all similar concessions from the imperial crown, was either worth much, or remained a dead letter, according as the person thus favoured had the means of making the gift available by force of arms. In the case of Thomas it fell to the lot of a brave prince, whom we have seen, and shall see, everywhere laying the foundation of the greatness of his family.

Thomas, well aware of the hostile disposition of the Barons of Vaud, both against the Duke of Zähringen and the Bishop of Lausanne, put himself at their head, collected an armament at Evian, sailed across the lake, and stormed the tower of Ouchy, then, as now, the port of Lausanne on the lake. He then marched across the country, over the Jorat, and obtained possession of Moudon. The Zähringen had strongly fortified that place not many years before, and they thus enabled the Count of Savoy to obtain a firm footing in the very heart of Vaud.

Thomas I. followed up his advantage; he added Romont and Rue, and other domains on the Jorat, and the valley of the Broie, to his possessions: these places became the ground for the establishment of the power of his House in those parts.

Berchthold of Zähringen, unable to resist the Count of Savoy in a country where all the nobles were against him, allied himself with some of the German lords in the Oberland, and, from the Gemmi and the Grimsel, again and again invaded Valais.

There had up to that time been great friendship between the Counts of Savoy and the Bishops of Sion. One of the sons of Humbert the White-handed had been Bishop of Sion from 1037 to 1053; and ever since the Prince-Bishop of that see had fain given to the Counts of Savoy that advocacy of their diocese which they wished to withdraw from the Zähringen*.

It was therefore partly to chastise a rebellious vassal of the Empire, and partly to wound Savoy in the person of his dependant, that Duke Berchthold now attacked Valais. He was however repeatedly driven back by those stout mountaineers, and at his death, in 1218, he had relinquished all hope of coping with the fortune of his antagonist of Savoy.

With this Berchthold, the Fifth, the main line of Zähringen became extinct, in 1218, and the Counts of Kyburg inherited their authority over the Burgundian districts.

The House of Savoy had already been connected

* Boccard, Histoire du Vallais, p. 53.

with the House of Zähringen, as Humbert III. had married Germaine, a lady of that family. Thomas I. now showed equal eagerness to ally himself with their successors, and gave his daughter, Margaret, to Hartmann the elder, Count of Kyburg, in 1218.

Thomas I. died in 1223, and left behind those nine sons whose high spirit was so well calculated to follow up the schemes of his ambition.

While yet a candidate for Church preferment, Peter, the Little Charlemagne, administered the See of Lausanne from 1229 to 1231, and at his father's death he was Provost of that diocese as well as of Geneva and Aosta. But his marriage put a stop to his further advancement in the Church.

In 1239, Boniface, Bishop of Lausanne, a holy man, scared by the factions which ravaged both his town and diocese, had resigned his bishopric. A contested election between John of Cossonay and Philip of Savoy, Peter's brother, gave rise to a terrific civil war.

Peter had now in his hands the government of Chablais, in the name of his sickly brother, Aymon; and he disposed besides of the forces of Aymon, Lord of Faucigny, whose daughter he had married. He therefore came forward in behalf of his brother Philip, took, stormed, burnt, and pillaged Lausanne; and when that long war came to an end, in 1244, he gave up the candidature of his brother, who was promoted to a higher see at Lyons, and obtained from his successful rival, John of Cossonay, such terms for himself

and family as paved the way for his future supremacy over the diocese.

His visit to England, and his wonderful success at the Court of Henry III., coincide with this epoch. Peter returned from London laden with the bounties of that king, and the Pays de Vaud was by him bought piecemeal, in the course of eight or ten years, from its impoverished nobility, with good sterling gold (bonne monnaie sterline)*.

Those Grandsons, Estavayers, Gruyères, and other lords had exhausted their means in feudal broils, or lavished it in distant expeditions, especially to the Holy Land. There was hardly one of them but was eager to dispose either of lands or castles, or of their homage, or of those hundred complicate rights of higher and lower jurisdiction, into which sovereignty was at that epoch so quaintly divided.

During another of Peter's journeys to England, his eldest brother, Amadeus IV., the reigning Count of Savoy, found himself involved in disastrous wars in Italy; and the enemies of his house, taking advantage of the unguarded position of his States, had ranged themselves under the standard of an Imperial Lieutenant named Eberhard de Nydow, and had invaded Chablais and Aosta. Valais and its bishop were now amongst the foes of Savoy.

Amadeus IV. however obtained a truce from his Italian adversaries, and Peter hastened at the same time from England. Aosta and Chablais were imme-

* Verdeil, Histoire du Canton de Vaud, i. 151.

diately freed from their invaders, especially by a splendid victory of Peter at Port Valais. The two brothers met as conquerors at Martigny, and after pursuing the Imperial forces and the Valaisans as far as Sion, took that town by storm, and overran the whole of the Rhone valley, up to the sources of that river at the Furka.

A peace was made with the Bishop of Sion, on the same terms as had before been granted to Lausanne, and Peter, now invested with the advocacy of both those dioceses, master of their strong places, had full leisure to pursue his conquests, or his purchases, in Vaud.

The Count of Genevois had ceded to him most of his possessions in that province, especially the castle of Clées, one of the main passes, the very key, as the name expresses it, of the Jura. The Counts of Gruyère, now his vassals, likewise surrendered to him the Pass of La Tine, leading from Vevey over to the Bernese Oberland.

In possession now of almost all French Switzerland, Helvétie Bourgonde, or Suisse Romande, he had also opened his way into German Helvetia.

It had been the policy of the Dukes of Zähringen, in their quarrels with the nobility of Vaud, to declare themselves the champions of the people's rights. They had founded as many cities as they had built castles. Friburg owed its rise to Berchthold IV., in 1160 or 1179,* and Bern was founded under the auspices of

* Berchthold, Histoire du Canton de Friburg, i. 30.

his successor Berchthold V., in 1190. The liberties granted by their founders had now been chartered, and those towns had attained the ranks of imperial cities under Frederic II.

The heirs of the Zähringen, Hartmann the elder, and Hartmann the younger, of Kyburg, uncle and nephew, had departed from this wise policy, and the latter of those princes, especially, was all his life at variance with Morat and Bern.

Threatened by such grasping neighbours, unable to obtain redress or protection from the Emperors, those two towns solicited the aid of Peter of Savoy, already renowned at Lausanne and Geneva, as a friend to popular freedom.

Peter defeated Hartmann the younger, and accepted the sovereignty which those two cities tendered him, to be held during his lifetime.

At Bern, especially, Peter was hailed as the people's saviour, and "second founder of the city."

The two Kyburgs died; Hartmann the younger in 1263, September 3rd, Hartmann the elder, on the 27th November, 1264; and Peter found himself in collision with their successor, no less formidable an antagonist than Rudolph of Habsburg.

The causes of contention between these two powerful princes were many and various; but the main subject of dispute arose from the jointure which Hartmann the elder, of Kyburg, had, at his death, bequeathed to Margaret of Savoy, his wife, and sister of Peter. Rudolph of Habsburg had been a party to

these testamentary dispositions; but no sooner had Kyburg closed his eyes than Rudolph seized the estates of Margaret; and feeling that he had now committed himself to a war with Savoy, he called around him the disaffected lords of Vaud and the Oberland, the Count of Genevois, the Bishop of Sion, and all who harboured ill-will against Savoy, and overrunning Vaud and Chablais, came to lay siege to Peter's favourite residence, the Castle of Chillon.

Peter was then, as usual, far away. His brother the Count Amadeus IV. had died since 1253. Boniface, his son, a mere child, had occupied the throne for ten years, under the guardianship of Thomas II., Count of Flanders, and Philip, Archbishop of Lyons.

All these princes had been worsted in the Italian wars; and Peter himself, who had hastened to the help of his relatives, met with no better success. Thomas of Flanders died also in 1259, and the boy Boniface in 1263.

Since the latter year Peter had, therefore, ascended the throne of Savoy, and added to his own all the resources of the House.

But he had, in an evil hour, in 1264, collected a large force in Flanders, with which he purposed to sail to England, in aid of Henry III. From the English coast, as we have seen, Peter was driven back by tempests; and it was precisely at this unfavourable juncture that his foe of Habsburg carried havoc and desolation into his dominions.

But such terrible emergencies only gave the noble

genius of Peter a fair opportunity for display. He collected such forces as Savoy and Aosta could still supply. The sturdy burghers of Bern, at that time already the best fighting men in Europe, sent a thousand men to join his standard.

Peter came suddenly upon Chillon, where his enemy, too sure of success, was off his guard.

He entered alone, by night, in disguise, within the beleaguered walls.

From the topmost turret he surveyed the position of the hostile camp: then again in the dark, he went back to his friends, spoke a few cheering words, and led them to the onslaught.

Surprise befriended valour. The troops of Rudolph were scattered in every direction: the rebel nobles of Vaud in great numbers, most of the leaders of the army, and the supreme commander himself, fell into the hands of Peter, who was now able to retrieve his broken fortunes, by setting a high price upon their ransom.

Some modern historians* are fain to suppose, and positively assert, that the Imperial commander was Rudolph of Habsburg himself. The chroniclers† call him Duke of Cophingen, Zhoffingen, and Chepelungreen. Whatever his real name and title might be, we think, with M. Vulliemin‡, that such an event

* Cibrario, Monarchia di Savoia, lib. iii. cap. ii. vol. ii. 129.—Verdeil, Histoire du Canton de Vaud, i. 173.

† Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie, Hist. Patriæ Monum. i. 163.

‡ Vulliemin, Chillon, pp. 106, 312.

as the captivity of Rudolph of Habsburg could never have passed unnoticed by the historians of his time, and that the most illustrious prisoner of Chillon was most likely either an officer acting in the name of the Emperor, or merely a lieutenant of Habsburg.

In the meanwhile the event,—even in that part of it which may be considered as strictly historical,—the encounter of one of the greatest princes of the House of Savoy with the forces of the founder of that dynasty of Habsburg which was to rise in opposition to it for so long a lapse of years, and his signal success under such unfavourable circumstances,—is in itself of sufficient significance, even independent of the personal discomfiture and humiliation of Rudolph himself.

French engaged here with German Burgundy hand-to-hand, and the two eagle-crested chieftains led the two rival nations into the field.

After that first victory, the fortune of war turned altogether in favour of Savoy. Peter had the dexterity to detach from Rudolph some of his mightiest allies. The Count of Genevois and the Bishop of Sion hastened to make their own terms. The Lords of Vaud purchased forgiveness at a high rate, and, after various vicissitudes, Rudolph himself signed a peace with Peter, in 1267, September 8th, the first condition of which was a renunciation of the dowry of which he had iniquitously dispossessed Margaret of Savoy, the widow of Kyburg.

Peter did not long survive that peace. He died in June, 1268, not perhaps at the Castle of Chillon, as

all historians had written, but on his way to it, at Pierre Châtel, a castle on the Rhone in Bugey*. He died worn out, not by age (he was but sixty-five years old), but by that surprising energy for which his biographers could find no parallel except in the instance of that mighty emperor by whose august name they were pleased to designate him. He died, weary of success; and his ear was even in the hour of agony soothed by his beloved bard, William de Ferrat, who sang to him the deeds of brave men. Fortune had never, or perhaps but once, in Italy, and in his expedition to England, deserted his standards. He left his House, at his death, in possession of nearly all Western Helvetia. Chablais had been erected into a duchy in behalf of his brother, Amadeus IV., in 1239. The Abbot of St. Maurice had bestowed upon Peter himself the great Burgundian relic of the ring of the martyr-saint, together with the advocacy of the monastery. The Bishop of Sion and the nobles of Valais had successively given up Martigny, Crest, Chamosson, and other castles: the boundaries of Valais had now shrunk back to the Morge, close to the walls of the episcopal city of Sion. Further up, Peter possessed Leuk, or Louèche, and the pass of the Gemmi, and beyond, the valley of Frutigen with other districts of the Oberland. The whole of Vaud, diocese, lords, and towns, acknowledged him either master or patron. From the Great St. Bernard to the Jura, from Mont Blanc to the Aar, the walls of castles and cities were

* Vulliemin, Chillon, p. 110.

equally open to him*. Since the death of Frederic II., in 1250, there had been an interregnum in the Empire, or else contested, abortive elections. The feeble princes who wore the crown of Germany, favoured the advancement of Peter, well perceiving he had won the people's hearts. William of Holland advised Bern and Morat to put themselves under the protection of Savoy: and Richard of Cornwall, who had married one of Peter's nieces, gave him the Castle of Gumminen, or Condamine, near the confluence of the Sarine and the Aar, on the road from Morat to Bern, the very key to those districts of German Helvetia.

It was only owing to the utter anarchy into which the Empire had fallen, that Rudolph of Habsburg was enabled to march himself, or to send some German officer, at the head of a self-styled imperial host, against Savoy, in 1264. The Empire was at that time without a head, and Savoy and Habsburg, equally its members, might, with the same right, vindicate its authority on either side.

Whatever Peter obtained by valour, wisdom, or wealth—for he was of all princes the one who had the least occasion to rifle his subjects' pockets, no slight title to popularity at all times—he organized by laws. As a legislator he was greatly in advance of his age. Out of those scattered territories, with their endless intricacy of boundaries and still more hopeless confusion of titles, he laboured to form one compact and uniform state. It was like drawing life

* Vulliemin, Chillon, p. 83.

out of chaos. He had to purchase from one owner the soil, from another the building of a castle, from a third, or fourth, or fifth, the high, middle, or lower jurisdiction, the tolls, the right of fishing, the strange variety of duties and taxes, together with the high sovereignty, the regal rights, the feudal homage attached to the possession.

He had to protect by force what he thus acquired by fair means. He was indefatigable in the construction of fortresses, in the organization of armaments. He was one of the first princes who substituted mercenary troops—chiefly English—for the ban and arrière-ban, the cumbrous and precarious aid of feudal service. All these endeavours were only too premature, and defeated by his frequent absence and the shortness of his career.

Had he, together with his states and reputation, bequeathed also his fortune to his immediate successors, he might have sown the seeds of a great, powerful and happy monarchy in Helvetia, and achieved in those countries what his rival of Habsburg was able to accomplish so soon after him.

But Philip, his brother, was old and infirm at his accession, and unfit for the struggle which was almost immediately renewed.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, eager to possess himself of the authority exercised by the Zähringen and Kyburg over German Helvetia, attacked the lords of Neufchâtel and other vassals of Savoy. Philip, whose health was miserably broken down since 1270, hastened, ne-

vertheless, to resist the aggression, and the Habsburg was repulsed as far as the Aar*. This happened in 1272, and only in the following year Rudolph was elevated to the throne of Germany. Everything turned now in his favour; Basle, which was at variance with him at the very moment of his election, and soon afterwards Bern, Friburg, and Lausanne, transferred to him that allegiance which they had sworn to Savoy during the vacancy of the Empire. He aspired now to restore the ancient realm of Burgundy in behalf of his son, Hartmann, who, however, did not benefit by his father's schemes, as he was drowned in the Aar, in 1291.

These ambitious projects aimed a death-blow at Savoy. Resistance to Habsburg was now rebellion to the Empire, and yet Savoy shrank not from it. Philip, who disposed of the forces of the county of Burgundy, in the name of his step-sons, ventured on an attack upon the Bishops of Basle and Lausanne, to whom the Emperor had newly granted the dignity of independent princes of the Empire.

Prostrated in the field by Rudolph, he had to give up to him Gumminen, Laupen, and other castles claimed by Rudolph as Imperial fiefs. Morat and Payerne continued steady in their allegiance to Savoy. They were besieged by the King, and defended by Louis, afterwards Baron of Vaud, one of the heroes of Savoy. At Morat Rudolph nearly fell into the enemy's hands, and was all but drowned in the lake in his flight†.

* Verdeil, Hist. du Cant. Vaud, i. 179.

† Coxe, House of Austria, i. 48.

His lieutenant, however, reduced the place, and the war was now brought to the walls of the monastery of Payerne, when the mediation of Pope Martin IV. and of the widow of St. Louis of France, Margaret of Provence, niece of Philip of Savoy, led, on the 17th of December, 1283, to a peace, by which Philip submitted to the main claims of the Emperor. He gave up Payerne, Morat, and Gumminen, and even allowed Rudolph to send an Imperial Commissary to Lausanne, which put an end to the advocacy of that diocese on the part of Savoy.

Rudolph was worthy of the homage of nations. He restored the German crown to its lustre, and grounded its power on popular liberties. He did not, however, complete the subjection of Helvetia. The forest Cantons and Zurich sued for his protection; but Bern, faithful to her alliance with Savoy, braved all the Emperor's wrath, and defeated an army of 30,000 men which he himself led against her walls (A.D. 1288)*.

Philip of Savoy did not long survive the peace of Payerne; he died in 1285, and Rudolph of Habsburg ended his career in 1291.

The last years of Philip were embittered by the quarrels of his nephews, Amadeus V. and Louis, who were beforehand disputing for the succession. Louis had already seized Vaud, and Amadeus was, after long contentions, induced to erect part of that territory into a barony, in behalf of his brother, reserving to himself, however, the most important places, and the high sovereignty of the whole.

* Coxe, House of Austria, i. 50.

At the death of the Emperor Rudolph, Amadeus V., seconded by his valiant brother Louis, who, after the settlement of their differences, proved himself a faithful vassal of Savoy, hastened to the recovery of the ascendancy which Philip had lost in German Helvetia. Laupen and Gumminen, Payerne and other Imperial fiefs, again fell under the sway of Savoy; and Morat, Friburg, and Bern again put themselves under her protection. Indeed for this patronage, which was understood to last only during the vacancy of the Empire, Bern was still fain to pay Amadeus V. a tribute of 1000 marks*.

In the meanwhile the Empire was a prey to discord and anarchy, till, in 1298, fortune declared in favour of Rudolph's son, Albert of Austria.

Victorious over his rival, Adolph of Nassau, the Austrian monarch came back to his father's long-cherished designs upon Helvetia. He was, however, glad to come to terms with Amadeus V., and ceded to him the advocacy of the monastery of Payerne; but the Imperial fiefs and cities returned, as a matter of course, to their liege lord, the Emperor.

A new spirit had in the meanwhile developed itself in German Helvetia.

The forest cantons of Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden, galled by the harsh government of their Austrian bailiffs or governors, came to their solemn covenant on the meadow of Grütli, on the Lake of Lucern, in 1307, and took there a pledge which they nobly

* Verdeil, Canton de Vaud, i. 197.

redeemed against Albert's successors, at Morgarten in 1315, and at Sempach and Naefels in 1386–1388. The example was followed by Lucern, Zug, Zurich, and finally by Bern, and the first eight cantons were solemnly united in a confederacy in 1353.

The sturdy burghers of Bern, always foremost in the strife, had already, even before the covenant at Grütli, taken arms to chastise the insolence of their nobles. A battle between them and the barons of their district had already taken place at Donnerbühl in 1298, and the nobility, with whom Louis, Baron of Vaud, had taken the field, had been routed by those citizens, under the command of their hero, Ulric of Erlach.

Amadeus V. however, a prince as wise as he was brave, perceived that his House had nothing to gain by interference in that contest.

He effected a peace between his brother and the Bernese, and from that time Savoy renounced all hope of further success to the east of the Sarine.

The war between Bern and its lordly neighbours, or indeed between democracy and feudal aristocracy, all over Switzerland, continued, with hardly any interruption, down to the year 1412: when Austria at length withdrew from the contest.

In those wars the House of Savoy took but little part. All the attention of Amadeus V., of Edward and Aymon, was absorbed by their conflicts with Dauphiny and Geneva.

Only at the battle of Laupen in 1339, where Bern

obtained its most spendid success against the nobles, John, son of Louis, the second Baron of Vaud, fell in a quarrel which concerned neither him nor his House.

Aymon the Peaceful reigned then in Savoy, and we know the manifold reasons, even independent of his pacific inclinations, that would have kept him aloof from the contest. His wise policy prescribed a similar conduct to Louis II., Baron of Vaud, whose territories immediately bordered on the theatre of those hostilities, and who was, besides, on the best terms with Bern, and was inscribed amongst her citizens.

He only so far showed his interest in the contention, as to send his only son, John, to attempt a mediation. John had proved himself a hero, both in the Flemish wars and in those of Savoy and Italy. His words of peace and moderation fell unheeded amidst the angry passions by which both parties were animated. He was now on his return from that unsuccessful mission, and had turned his horse's head from the camp of the allied Barons, when some of these took hold of his bridle, and, with the glowing accents of chivalry, depicted to him the glory he would earn by joining them as a volunteer in the battle they were going to give the rebellious boors on the morrow.

This was one of the rare instances of a prince of Savoy suffering his valour to get the better of his discretion.

The appeal to his spirit of adventure proved too strong a temptation: possibly also some contempt for the low-born peasantry that stood there arrayed against

her lords, and the recollection of his grandfather's defeat at Donnerbühl, may have been lurking about the heart of the young prince.

He forgot his father's injunctions; he remained with his suite at the camp, and, on the morrow, June 21, 1333, charged in the foremost ranks of the heavy-armed cavalry, and fell in a vain attempt to break the close array of Swiss pikes.

With him fell the best hopes of his family; and the Savoy branch of the Barons of Vaud ended with the death of his bereaved father, in 1349*.

It was only after the middle of the fifteenth century, after the reign of Amadeus VIII., and beyond the period under our present consideration, that a collision took place between Savoy and the Swiss confederates. Up to that period the good understanding between them was scarcely ever interrupted, and Savoy ever found, especially in Bern and Friburg, ready and useful auxiliaries.

West of the Sarine, in what was called the "Pays Romand," or "Patrie de Vaud," the sway of the House of Savoy acquired every day firmness and consistency. The Barony of Vaud was united to its dominions at the death of Louis II., and under Amadeus VI., in 1349. During the reigns of the Green and the Red Counts, the Vaudois nobility was ever seen in the foremost ranks in all the wars of Savoy. Indeed the high courage and brilliant character of some of these nobles might have given cause of un-

* Verdeil, Canton de Vaud, i. 209.

easiness to their liege sovereigns, had not these been released from all apprehension, either by the extinction of some of those families, or by the ardour with which they lavished life and wealth in distant, unprofitable enterprises.

Mere fortuitous circumstances also led to the ruin of some of the most powerful of those houses. The Grandsons, for instance, were involved in the tragic catastrophe which carried off the Red Count.

We have already twice alluded to the mysterious end of Amadeus VII., without entering into particulars, for the simple reason that it is involved in hopeless obscurity.

The young prince may have broken his neck whilst hunting the wild boar in the forest of Lorme, near Thonon, as Guichenon and the old Court chroniclers, anxious for the fair name of Savoy, have asserted*; or he may have fallen a victim to the ignorance of his physician, Granville, who, according to Cibrario (by whom his prescriptions are quoted with quaint humour†), administered remedies which would have killed a cart-horse, to say nothing of a youthful hero whose frame was by no means so strong as his spirit was high; Granville however, and the Court-apothecary, Peter de Lompnes, were charged with wilful murder, and the latter was even barbarously put to death and quartered. The doctor, twice put to the rack, was twice set free, because, it was surmised, the

* Guichenon, Royale Maison de Savoie, ii. 12.

† Cibrario, Studi Storici, i. 92.

confessions wrung from him by torture had conveyed some dark hints against exalted personages, chiefly against Bonne of Bourbon, mother of the Red Count, and Amadeus, Prince of Achaia. Granville was suffered to escape, and found shelter in Vaud, in one of the castles of Otto of Grandson.

This nobleman, a hero and a descendant of heroes, —some of whom had risen to high distinction in England in the times of Henry III., where some branches of the family continued to flourish under the romance-famed name of Grandisons,—one of the most accomplished knights of his age, and a bard, also known for his proficiency in the gay science,—had been a member of the Regency appointed by the dying Red Count to govern during the minority of his son.

The protection afforded by him to the quack Granville, turned against himself the tide of popular suspicion. He was obliged to fly to England and France, but succeeded in clearing himself at an examination held at the latter court before the royal princes of the blood, and returned fully acquitted to his estates.

Otto however had an implacable enemy in his native country,—Gerard of Estavayer, whose fair and frail wife, Catherine of Belp, had evinced too tender a partiality to the gallant, though grey-haired Grandson. Gerard had treasured up his revenge, unwilling to divulge his own dishonour, and was now glad of the opportunity which popular rumour afforded of calling Otto to account upon a public grievance. He stepped forward as an open accuser of Otto of Grandson, and

offered himself ready to prove, by a judicial combat, the complicity of this latter with Granville and Lompnes, in the assassination of the Count.

A day was appointed for the solemn "Judgment of God." It was the 7th of August, 1396, and the lists were erected at Bourg-en-Bresse, on the Ain. The young Count, Amadeus VIII., now in his fourteenth year, attended, and with him all the lords and ladies of his court, whilst curiosity attracted a crowd of the nobility of Burgundy and France. Nearly all the Lords of Vaud came forward as witnesses and supporters on either side.

Grandson was old and infirm, in his sixtieth year, but disdained to plead either age or ailments; his adversary however had in all probability reckoned on his bodily advantages.

The signal was given: the two horses ran full speed one against the other, and, on the very first encounter, Otto of Grandson fell pierced by the lance of his antagonist*.

His body was conveyed to Lausanne and buried in the cathedral, where his monument still represents him with his hands severed at the wrists, and laid at his feet, as was the custom with men dying under attainder of high treason.

His son, deprived of his vast possessions by the laws of the country, wandered abroad; and the last of his family came also to a violent death in Burgundy, where he had mingled in treasonable plots against the State.

* Guichenon, Maison de Savoie, ii. 22.

The greatest and mightiest family of Vaud had thus ceased to exist. Louis de Cossonay was also probably implicated in that miserable death of the Red Count*. He died in the same year, 1398; his heirs—he had no sons—were rather arbitrarily excluded, and the thirty seigneuries of the Cossonays equally escheated to the crown. The minor nobles and the people of Vaud were far from resenting such acts of spoliation, which were but too strictly in keeping with the usages of the times. The petty feudatories of those great families were glad to rise to the rank of immediate vassals of the crown, and the boroughs hailed the downfall of their local masters, as the signal of their own emancipation.

The progress of Savoy in Valais had been, though constant, less uniform.

Since the victories of Peter II. had compelled the Bishops of Sion again and again to acknowledge his supremacy, that diocese had been a prey to sanguinary factions.

The Bishop had to contend both with the nobles and the people. Besides the native nobility, sixty of whose castles are still mouldering on almost every height in the broad valley, there had been of late an influx of even more fierce and turbulent aristocrats. The wars and factions of the Lombard cities were driving periodically a number of noble refugees to the Alps, some of whom had even crossed the mountains, and brought their families and the wrecks of their

* Cibrario, Studi Storici, i. 100.—Verdeil, Canton de Vaud, i. 265.

fortunes to the upper valley of the Rhone. They had, together with these, carried with them their restless combative spirits, and filled those peaceful regions with their hereditary feuds*.

On the other hand, the people, especially in the German districts of Valais, had been stirred up by the example of their neighbours of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden; and they were aware that they could on all emergencies rely on the support of those dreaded confederates. They became daily more unmanageable: a spirit of wild independence, of popular association, animated all the valleys of the Alps; — it spread from the Reuss to the Rhone, and hence again to the Isère and the Arc, where, at a somewhat later period, it broke out into those riots of the "Tuchins," —armed bands of peasantry, who set both lay and clerical power at defiance.

In Maurienne and Tarentaise, in all her dependencies, Savoy was able to crush by main force this rebellious spirit; but in Valais, the Bishop, jealous of his own independence, was loth to have recourse to the protection of his advocates, and, for their own part, the princes of Savoy, with their hands full of other business, were willing enough to let the Valaisans fight out their own battles, and only interfered in extreme and desperate cases.

Already, in 1352, the Green Count, placed at the head of a state which began to breathe after its long struggle with Dauphiny and Geneva—a state restored

* Boccard, Histoire du Vallais, p. 73.

to great prosperity by the wisdom and economy of his father Aymon,—had been able to take up arms for the Bishop of Sion, Guichard Tavelli, shamefully ill-used by his nobles.

The Green Count had twice taken Sion,—first by capitulation, and afterwards by storm*.

In 1368, the Bishop, unable to cope with the insolence of his vassals, had, if not actually stirred up, at least countenanced a rise of the peasantry against the nobles. The first victims of this movement were Isabella of Biandrate†, and her son Anthony, barbarously murdered on the bridge of the Rhone, near Naters.

Amadeus VI. attempted a compromise between the factions, and condemned the Bishop, as head of the offending parties, to a fine of 20,000 florins, by way of indemnity to the injured nobles. But two of these, John and Anthony de la Tour, relatives of Isabel, and also nephews of the Bishop, claimed a sum fifteen times that amount. Dissatisfied with the arbitrament, they pursued their revenge against the episcopal party; and Anthony, a man of great daring—the same who had bearded the Bears of Bern in their own den, and thrown down the gauntlet against that proud city in the presence of the Emperor Charles IV. —now assailed Bishop Tavelli in the Castle de la Soie, one of the episcopal residences, rising on a per-

* Boccard, Vallais, pp. 82, 83.—Verdeil, Canton de Vaud, i. 219.

† Gingins-la-Sarraz, Documens pour servir à l'Histoire des Comtes de Biandrate; p. 33.

pendicular rock to the north of Sion; and had him, together with his chaplain, flung down from one of its towers, August 8th, 1374*.

This sacrilege, which, from the close connection of its perpetrator with the victim, partook also of parricide, gave the signal for a general rise of that lower part of the population which had hitherto sided with the Bishop against the nobles, and who assumed the title of "patriots."

A war of extermination ensued. The Green Count, who professed to advocate the popular cause, secured for himself the spoils of the slaughtered nobility.

Edward of Savoy, son of Philip, the first Prince of Achaia, was now raised by the Valaisans to the vacant See of Sion (he had previously been Bishop of Belley); and the ascendancy of Savoy, grounded both on lay and ecclesiastical power, was now unlimited.

The patriotic party, by a revulsion of feeling analogous to what we have witnessed at Geneva, soon became jealous of the overwhelming power of Count and Bishop; on the death of Amadeus VI., in 1383, they broke out into a general riot, before which the Bishop, Edward of Savoy, had to give way and take refuge at Chambéry.

The Red Count hastened from France, where the tidings of this rebellion reached him, and put forth all the might of Savoy to the chastisement of Valais. The vassals of the house flocked on all sides to the standards. Here the warriors of Bresse and Bur-

* Boccard, Vallais, p. 87.

gundy, there the feudal host and burgher-bands of Vaud; Amadeus and Louis of Achaia with their Piedmontese; Bern with one thousand, Friburg with five hundred pikemen, (for these towns still persevered in their alliance with Savoy); some across the Pass of the Diablerets, others down from the Great St. Bernard, and others again from the Gemmi, poured down upon the devoted valley*.

They met, all obstacles overcome, under the walls of Sion; that town rising on its three hills, crowned with its three castles, rising all isolated in the midst of the level ground of the wide valley, a conspicuous object from the Furka to Martigny.

Here the Red Count, we are told (for modern historians will have their doubts about everything†, and it may be that the old chroniclers mixed up the father's exploits with the son's), imitating the example given by the Green Count less than thirty years before, had himself knighted by William of Grandson, the veteran of all the wars of the previous reign, and, after the ceremony, he conferred the same honour on one hundred and fifty of his brilliant retinue.

Then the trumpets sounded the assault; and Sion, after an obstinate resistance, was once more taken by storm, and given up to the fury of the conquerors.

The whole of Valais now laid down its arms, by a capitulation of the 21st of August, 1384. Edward of

* Boccard, Vallais, pp. 92–95.—Verdeil, Vaud, i. 246.

† Cibrario, Studi Storici, i. 17.—Chronique de Savoie, Mon. Hist. Patriæ, i. 274, 367, 478.

Savoy, however, the primary cause of all the war, seeing that might of arms could effect no cordial reconciliation between him and his flock, had himself removed to the metropolitan See of Tarentaise.

He had, in Sion, succeeded a bishop, Tavelli, murdered by his own nephew; and he now—so unfavourable a wind blew for bishops in these regions at the time—occupied a chair at Moutiers, still stained with the blood of an archbishop, Rudolph of Chissé, who had been slaughtered in his castle by a popular outbreak, in 1385, together with his family and attendants.

Amadeus VII., however, had by the terms of the surrender of 1384 secured in his hands all the castles belonging to the bishop; and, whenever the patriots ventured on new commotions, he had only to march up the valley to quell all rebellions in blood. He thus obtained another signal victory at Viége in 1389.

It was clear, nevertheless, that no earthly power could establish a permanent peace in Valais.

The great Western Schism occasioned a contested election at Sion, as both the Pope of Rome and he of Avignon had each their own candidate to propose. This was, however, merely the pretext for new dissensions: the real cause lay in the jealousy of the people, and their resistance to aristocratic preponderance.

The De la Tours had been either exterminated or banished; but another family, that of the Rarogne, had risen to power in their stead.

They had so much influence, indeed, as to carry

the nomination of three successive bishops of their own name.

The patriots drew their sword against this House, and a war blazed out which lasted for more than a quarter of a century (1400–1427), and which goes by the name of the "War of Rarogne."

Its incidents are not without interest, and the terrible scenes of bloodshed and revenge, between that proud nobility and that fierce peasantry, contrast very strangely with the silence and desolation of that barren and poor region at the present time.

The peasantry set up their "Matzè" against the Bishop, William II. or the younger, of Rarogne, and against his uncle Guichard, a nobleman of high character, whom the Bishop had appointed Captain-General of the diocese.

The offence of these Rarogne was of the same nature as that which rendered Mr. Peregrine Touchwood unpopular at St. Ronan's. They interfered with the good "old customs" of the country: they desired the burghers of Sion to remove their dunghills from the doors of their dwellings, and robbed them of their privilege of "washing their tripes and other abominations in the public fountains of the town*."

Hence the implacable hatred of the Matze.

This "emblem of an oppressed people,"—an evident corruption of the Italian word *mazza* (a club), which gives us a clear idea of the origin of those feuds,—consisted of a block of wood, or of a sapling rooted

* Boccard, Vallais, p. 104.

out of the ground, and rudely carved so as to bear some resemblance to a human head*. The roots represented the squalid hair and beard of the hideous idol. It was set up with great ceremony on the high roads, and made, with a great deal of odd mummery and foolery, to declare its ill-will against some person obnoxious to the multitude. It was then carried from door to door, and every man who had a grudge against the person thus designated, drove a nail into its wood. The number of nails determined the *ostracism* of the offending party, and the Matze was finally laid, as an ominous warning, at his door.

The Matze was then made to declare against Guichard of Rarogne and the Bishop, and they were driven from the valley. It was vain for them to have recourse to Bern, where Guichard enjoyed the rights of burghership: the Swiss of the Forest Cantons abetted the Valaisans in their rebellion. The cause of the patriots was equally that of all German Switzerland; and Bern, who had other quarrels of her own, moved only too late and not very earnestly to the support of the Rarogne.

Nor was Savoy, at that epoch, in a position to exert herself in behalf of the episcopal party. Amadeus VII. died in 1391, and the State was distracted by the courtly factions to which we have often alluded. Bonne of Bourbon, the Regent, concluded a peace with the most stubborn mountaineers of the upper German districts, called "Dixaines," of Valais, especially those

* Schiner, Description du Département du Simplon, p. 42.

of Conches, Sierre, Brigg, Mörell, etc., whom the Red Count had only half subdued by his victory at Viége.

This treaty was signed by the Regent in 1392, and confirmed by Amadeus VIII. on his reaching his majority in 1399. By the terms of that agreement Savoy was still empowered to keep the Bishop's castles, especially those of Tourbillon and the Majorie, both overhanging the isolated rock of Sion. Her authority, however, was not much respected by the fierce peasantry of the upper valley, who, abetted and even set up by their brethren of Uri and Unterwalden, not only held their own ground in their mountain-fastnesses, but carried on an incessant war with the Savoy troops quartered in the valley, and even in 1416, at Leuk, took by surprise a body of troops which Amadeus VIII. was sending into the Val d' Ossola, when threatened with an invasion by the same Forest Cantons,—a mishap by which Val d' Ossola was lost to Savoy.

Amadeus VIII. therefore, although he acted with sufficient energy in that destructive war of Rarogne, and his arms met with success wherever they were employed, soon became aware that there was but little glory and less profit to be anticipated from a prolonged strife with those formidable mountaineers. His efforts to restore the Bishop by main force proved unavailing, and the prelate died an exile at Rome.

Exchanging then his part of a lord and patron for that of a mediator, Amadeus effected a reconciliation

between the patriots and the administrator of the diocese, Andrew of Gualdo, a Florentine, afterwards Bishop (1431–1437), and the Rarogne, and concluded at Evian, in 1420, a treaty which did not, however, prevent the recurrence of fresh disturbances.

By the treaty of Evian, Guichard of Rarogne was restored to his country and his possessions: and the rancour of the Valaisans against his family had so far abated, that after the death of Gualdo in 1437, their choice of a new prelate fell on one of that name, William III. of Rarogne.

But the real strength and pride of that family, no less indeed than of the whole feudal nobility, was for ever at an end in the valley of the Rhone. Both the Bishop and his Advocate of Savoy were now unequal to stem the tide of democracy, such as it was, which set in from the Forest Cantons upon the districts of German Valais.

Respect for the person of Amadeus VIII., and the unshaken fidelity of Bern to his cause, succeeded in maintaining the ascendancy of Savoy in the diocese during the lifetime of that prince: but under his successors, when Bern at last joined the confederates and turned her arms against the Duke of Burgundy, Savoy, who fought on the side of the latter, had to meet her old Valaisan vassals and subjects on the field, and had even to defend her hereditary dominions against their repeated inroads.

Thus had German and French Burgundy gone for ever asunder.

That Helvetia, for which the Houses of Savoy and Habsburg had been contending since the days of Peter and Rudolph, rose now to the dignity of a nation, and attained a power, equally independent of, and hostile to, both Houses.

Austria drew back from her old boundaries, and even gave up the cradle of her dynasty, the very castle of Habsburg.

Savoy held her own ground: she asserted her sway over all the Pays Romand: she established her frontier at the Sarine and the Dranse, everywhere on the limits where the Romance language—her own French idiom—was spoken.

It was nationality, perhaps, more than any other cause, that in course of time drove her back from Friburg and Bern, and from Upper Valais. Even there it was at first rather estrangement than animosity that effected a separation. Amadeus VIII. parted as a friend with the cities of the new confederacy, and all his differences with them were always amicably settled. It depended on Amadeus's successors to secure the friendship and support of those formidable neighbours: it was their infatuation that enlisted them in the ranks of their opponents.

On this side, also, Savoy had nevertheless come to the end of her conquests.

At the time she met with a decisive check on the North-west, owing to the rise of a powerful monarchy, she was equally stopped in her career on the North-east, by the formation of a republican confederacy.

France and Switzerland were henceforth and for ever her fate: each of them more than a match for her forces, each or both sure to overwhelm her in the end, had she been merely a Transalpine power.

But Savoy had two lives.

The South was still open to her. For the ground she was losing in Burgundy, she made up by the advancement of her fortunes in Lombardy.

And that House of Habsburg with which she had measured her forces for a short period, from which she had been parted by the rise of the Swiss, was, but at a period yet remote, to meet her on this new field of the South, and for centuries to thwart all her efforts toward the establishment of her Italian sovereignty.

END OF VOLUME I.

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